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OF

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THE PURITAN REVOLUTION 1603–1660

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Epochs of Modern History

EDITED BY

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AND J. SURTEES PHILLPOTTS, M.A., B.C.L.

THE FIRST TWO STUARTS AND THE PURITAN REVOLUTION

S. R. GARDINER, D.C.L., LL.D.

Epochs of Modern History

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THE FIRST TWO STUARTS AND THE PURITAN REVOLUTION

1603—1660

BY

SAMUEL RAWSON GARDINER, D.C.L., LL.D.
LATE FELLOW OF MERTON COLLEGE, OXFORD

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WITH FOUR MAPS

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PREFACE.

THE present volume is a companion to the one on the 'Thirty Years' War,' and it has therefore been unnecessary to break the course of the narrative by constant references to events passing on the Continent, which will be easily brought before the reader who consults the chronological contents at the beginning of the two books.

In England, happier than France or Germany, the problem of religious liberty was worked out in close connexion with the problem of parliamentary government. England did not, even temporarily, cease to be a nation, as Germany did; nor did it, like France, surrender its power to control events into the hands of a single man. The interest of its history in the seventeenth century lies in the efforts made to secure a double object—the control of the nation over its own destinies, and the liberty of the public expression of thought, without which parliamentary government is only a refined form of tyranny.

The present volume only professes to recount a part of this struggle. The epoch comes to its proper end in the two volumes which follow it in the series, 'The English Restoration and Louis XIV.,' by Mr. Osmund Airy, and 'The Fall of the Stuarts,' by the Rev. E. Hale. Problems failing to find a solution in the hands of a great ruler, who rested mainly on military power, grew less difficult when approached by a king who, like William III., was able to place on his side both the traditional prestige of the crown and the support of the nation which had placed him on the throne.

Those who wish to consult histories on a larger scale will find by far the best general history of the period in Ranke's 'History of England principally in the Seventeenth Century,' which has recently been translated. In even greater detail are Mr. Spedding's 'Letters and Life of Lord Bacon,' Mr. Forster's 'Life of Sir John Eliot,' his essays on 'The Grand Remonstrance' and the 'Arrest of the Five Members,' Professor Masson's 'Life of Milton,' Mr. Sanford's 'Studies of the Great Rebellion,' and Mr. Carlyle's 'Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell.' Those who care to see what I may have to say on the earlier part of the period will find in 'A History of England, 1603–1642,' the 'History of the Great Civil War,' and 'The Commonwealth and Protectorate'—a connected history from 1603 to 1656,

which will, I hope, be carried on to 1660, before any unreasonably long time elapses.

The maps will probably give a clearer idea of the course of the war than is to be gathered from any written narrative. The first will show how far the statement is true that the wealthiest portion of England attached itself to the Parliament, and brings out distinctly the enormous comparative wealth of London. The calculations on which it is founded are derived from a statement in Rushworth, corrected, in the instance of the county of Durham, from the original entry in the Privy Council Register. The second map may be said to express the natural strength of the King's party; as, though Oxford was not held by him at the actual commencement of the war, it took his side too vigorously to be counted as a mere enforced accession of strength. The third map shows the King's fortunes at their highest point, just before the Scottish army invaded England, and the fourth gives the position after the results of the Battle of Marston Moor had time to make themselves felt.

The dates, unlike those in the volume on 'The Thirty Years' War' are given according to the old style.

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THE FIRST TWO STUARTS

AND THE

PURITAN REVOLUTION.

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CHAPTER I.

THE PURITANS AND THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

SECTION I.—*Reformers and Puritans.*

THE English Reformation was brought about, as every other great change is brought about, by the co-operation of two classes of men: the men who are, on the whole, content with the principles by which they have hitherto guided their lives, though they think that some changes ought to be made in matters of detail; and those who start upon an entirely new principle, and who strive to realise an ideal society which commends itself to their own minds. They answer, in short, to the Whigs and Radicals of modern political life, whilst the Conservatives are represented by a third class averse to all institutional change whatever.

§ 1. Two parties to the Reformation.

The first class—the Reformers, as we may call those who, on the whole, controlled the movement, were content with gradual and slow change. They were ready to examine every practice and doc-

§ 2. The Reformers.

trine by the test of Scripture and the custom of the early Church, but they were willing to retain all that could not be so shown to be worthy of rejection. In this way they held that the white vestment of the minister, the kneeling attitude of the congregation at the administration of the Communion, the observation of days set apart for fast and festival, were commendable observances reaching the heart through the medium of the senses, and encouraging a habit of devotion by the use of bodily actions.

§ 3. The Puritans.

Alongside of these men were others who cared nothing for ancient tradition or outward observances, and who regarded those which had been retained as rags and relics of Popery. During their exile in the reign of Mary, the Puritans, as they afterwards came to be called, learned from the disciples of Calvin, the great French teacher of Geneva, a special system of doctrine and discipline, a system in which the heart and soul were sustained by the intellectual appreciation of theological truths, rather than by the outward actions of the body.

§ 4. Elizabeth's leaning against the Puritans.

The Puritans were not likely to find a friend in Elizabeth, when, after her sister's death, she mounted the throne to take up the conflict which her father had waged before her. She herself loved the old forms, and scandalised her bishops by retaining the crucifix in her private chapel. But she had another reason for bearing hardly on the Puritans. Her strength lay in her headship of the national cause. She detested the Pope, not so much because he taught the doctrine of transubstantiation and worshipped images, as because he claimed to meddle with the rules and laws to be observed by Englishmen. She was anxious to win over as many as possible of those whose belief was still the same as that of their

fathers, and she therefore was glad to retain such ceremonies as might be welcome to this numerous class of her subjects.

If Elizabeth had reasons of her own for maintaining the ceremonial forms of the Church, she had also reasons of her own for maintaining its episcopal organisation. The existence of bishops has been defended by ecclesiastical writers on various grounds; but it was not by ecclesiastical reasoning that Elizabeth was convinced. She cared very little whether bishops were or were not the successors of the Apostles. She cared very much that they were appointed by herself. They were her instruments for keeping the clergy in order. Not that they were mere servile tools. Many of them were high-minded, devoted men, serving the queen all the better because they believed that they were serving God at the same time.

§ 5. Elizabeth's support of Episcopacy.

To the thoroughgoing Puritan such a system was doubly obnoxious. With Calvin's aid he looked into his Bible, and he found nothing there of the rule of the queen over the beliefs and worship of Christians. Presbyterianism, so at least the most energetic Puritans held, was the divinely appointed model of church government for all time. The clergy, assisted by lay elders chosen out of the congregation, were to be supreme over all ecclesiastical matters.

§ 6. Puritan opposition to Episcopacy.

Proud of her ancient crown, proud of her advocacy of the rights of the laity against Presbyter and Pope alike, Elizabeth sternly resisted the Puritan flood. Year after year the tide, in spite of all her efforts, seemed to mount. As long as the struggle with Rome was hot, as long as plots for the assassination of the queen were matters of daily talk, and the presence of a Spanish fleet in English har-

§ 7. Growth of Puritanism.

bours, and of Spanish veterans upon English soil, was regarded as within the limits of possibility, so long large numbers of men who were in earnest in the quarrel attached themselves to that form of Protestantism which was most opposed to the system which they combated.

During the last years of Elizabeth's reign the waves of external conflict lulled themselves to sleep.

§ 8. Pacific tendencies in England.

When once the Armada had been shattered by English cannon-shot and by the winds of heaven, a calmer, milder spirit prevailed amongst the conquerors. To combat Spain and the Pope ceased to be the first thought of Englishmen. The thought of internal reforms, of wise guidance of the nation which had been saved, came into the foremost place. Each party had learned something from the other. If the bishops continued to oppose Calvin's system of church government, they gave their warm adherence to his theology. Large numbers of Puritans abandoned their Presbyterian theories, and were ready to submit to the Episcopal constitution, if only they could be allowed to omit certain ceremonies which they regarded as superstitious, of which the use of the surplice was the most important.

These prognostics of peace with which Elizabeth's reign closed were not confined to England. An observer

§ 9. Pacific tendencies on the Continent.

of the course of continental politics might have been excused for thinking that the days of religious wars were drawing to an end. In 1598 Spain, by the peace of Vervins, had withdrawn from its attempt to meddle in the affairs of France and had acknowledged the legitimacy of the tolerant monarchy of Henry IV. The Dutch Netherlands were still holding out in their noble struggle against Spanish oppression, and it seemed likely that here too Spain would

retire exhausted from the contest. In Germany the existing settlement which assigned certain territories to one religion or the other had not been seriously contested. On the whole the prospects of the approach of peace after the long religious wars were brighter than they had been for many a weary year.

In England, a broad and tolerant disposition made itself conspicuous in the highest literature of the day. No theological controversialist ever had so wise a horror of strife as Hooker, the author of the Ecclesiastical Polity, or was so ready to teach that truth and wisdom must be sought in a reverent study of spiritual and moral laws, rather than in any form of words which might be upheld as a standard of party. He strikes up the swords of the combatants as the herald of peace. 'This unhappy controversy,' are the very first words which he utters, 'about the received ceremonies and discipline of the Church of England, which hath so long time withdrawn so many of her ministers from their principal work, and employed their studies in contentious oppositions; hath by the unnatural growth and dangerous fruits thereof, made known to the world, that it never received blessing from the Father of peace.' §10. Tolerance of literature: Hooker.

The voice of Hooker was echoed by the voice of Bacon, statesman, philosopher, essay writer, all in one. Looking with eyes of pity on the lot of men, striving, if so it might be, to make them happier and wiser by act or speech of his, he had his word of warning to utter on this point too: 'Therefore,' he writes, 'it is good we return unto the ancient bands of unity in the Church of God, which was, one faith, one baptism, and not, one hierarchy, one discipline, and that we observe the league of Christians, as it is penned by our Saviour Christ; which is in substance of doctrine this, §11. Bacon.

All that is not with us is against us; but in things indifferent, and but of circumstance this, He that is not against us is with us . . . as it is excellently alluded by that father that noted that Christ's garment was without seam, and yet the Church's garment was of divers colours, and thereupon set down for a rule, Let there be variety in the vesture but not a rent.' Hooker's object is different from Bacon's object. Hooker counselled the Puritan to give way to the arrangements of the Church. Bacon counselled that the arrangements of the Church should be modified to suit the wishes of the Puritan. But the spirit of moderation was the same in both.

§ 12. Shakespeare.

One too there was, who kept himself aloof from the immediate questions of the hour, who had nothing directly to say about church worship or church ceremonies, who was teaching men the infinite value of truth and righteousness. When Elizabeth died Shakespeare had yet to do his highest work, to sink into the depths and rise to the heights of the soul of man, till he produced those perfect flowers of chastened calm forgiveness, Prospero and Hermione.

§ 13. Deceptive forecast of the future.

Who that looked around them in the opening years of the 17th century would predict aught but the growth of peace and toleration? Why it was that the forecast was deceptive: why there was a Puritan Revolution at all, it is the object of these pages to tell.

Section II.—*The Tudor Monarchy.*

§ 1 What is a revolution?

Political institutions, kings, parliaments, or law-courts do not come into existence by accident. They are there because they have been able to do some good to the nation in previous stages of its

history. As each generation is sure to want something done which the last generation did not want, there is always a possibility that the persons set in authority may resist the change, or may not be competent to carry it out. Then some alteration has to be made in the institutions under which government is carried on; and if this alteration is very great, and is effected by force, it is called a Revolution.

§ 2. Governors and government.

In every government which does not either maintain itself, like an ancient Greek despotism, by the sole possession of arms amidst an unarmed population, or like a modern Asiatic despotism, by the absolute indifference of governors and governed alike to any change at all, two things are requisite, if it is to maintain its existence. In the first place there must be some way in which the people who are governed make their rulers understand what sort of changes they want and what sort of changes they refuse to admit. In the second place there must be some man or some select body of men who have wisdom and practical skill to effect the changes desired in a right way. All the popular applause in the world will not save from ruin a foolish governor who disregards the forces of nature, and the most consummate wisdom will not save from ruin one who tries to force a people to changes which they detest.

§ 3. Modern constitutionalism.

This is true even if there be no constitutional system in existence at all. In Russian history the Tzar who does not satisfy his subjects is assassinated. The object of our modern constitutional arrangements is that the influence of the popular wishes and the influence of practical ability in the governors should be brought to bear upon one another by argument and discussion and not by violence.

In the Middle Ages violence was often appealed to. Edward II., Richard II., Henry VI. were dethroned and murdered. Still the rule was not violence but agreement. In every department of the state the co-operation of the king and his officials with the popular voice was regarded as the essential condition of what our ancestors well called the commonwealth, the word wealth then signifying general wellbeing, and not mere riches. King and Parliament must join in the making of new laws and in the raising of new taxes. A judge appointed by the king must join with a popular jury in the condemnation of a criminal or in the settlement of a quarrel about the rights of property. The king and officers appointed by the king commanded the armed force of the nation. But the armed force was not a standing army separate from the people, but a force composed of the able-bodied inhabitants of the country who would refuse to march on an unpopular service.

§ 4. Mediæval constitutionalism.

Such in the main was the government of England till towards the end of the fifteenth century. Then special circumstances occurred which made it necessary that the crown should be clothed for a time with extraordinary powers. Under the feeble government of Henry VI. the great and powerful nobility preyed upon the weakness of their neighbours. Juries were bribed or bullied by the rich landowner to give verdicts according to his pleasure. Men were murdered in the public roads, and justice was not to be had. Peaceful homes were besieged and sacked by rival claimants to property. Legislation was decided not by the free vote of an elected Parliament, but by the victory or defeat of armies. The strong government of the Yorkist kings, succeeded by the far stronger government of the Tudors, was the answer to the national demand that the lawless nobility should be

§ 5. Depression of the nobility.

incapacitated from doing further mischief. Henry VIII., whatever his moral character may have been, did the work thoroughly, and left but little in this way to be accomplished by his daughter.

Before the depression of the nobility was completely effected, the struggle with Rome was begun. Fresh powers were needed by the crown, if it was to avert the risk of foreign invasion, to detect plots at home, and to maintain order amongst a people large numbers of which were disaffected. Thus a second reason was added for allowing the sovereign to act independently of those constitutional restraints which had hitherto counted for so much.

§ 6. The struggle with Rome.

In almost every department of government the crown was thus enabled to arrogate to itself powers unknown in earlier times. In taxation, though it was still understood to be a constitutional principle that Parliament alone could grant those direct payments of money which were called subsidies, means had been found by which the crown could evade the control of Parliament. People were asked sometimes to give money, sometimes to lend it, and sometimes the money thus lent was not repaid. Impositions were also laid without the consent of Parliament on a few articles of commerce imported, though this was not done to any great extent. On the whole, however, Elizabeth was much more careful to avoid giving offence to her subjects by irregular demands of money than her father and grandfather had been. The chief field in which the crown encroached upon the nation was in matters of judicature. The struggle against the nobles and the struggle against the papacy each left its mark on the judicial system in a court which judged without the intervention of a jury. The first produced the Court of Star Chamber. The second produced the Court of High Commission.

§ 7. Increasing powers of the crown.

§ 8. The Court of Star Chamber.

The Court of Star Chamber was in Elizabeth's time composed of the whole of the Privy Council, together with the two Chief Justices. Its right to judge was founded partly on old claims of the Privy Council, partly on an Act of Parliament made in the beginning of the reign of Henry VII. It could not adjudge any man to lose his life; but it might fine and imprison, and in case of libels and other offences of the like kind, it asserted a right to put a man in the pillory and to cut off his ears. The court had done good service in punishing rich and powerful offenders whom juries would have been afraid to convict, and long after Elizabeth's reign, when it was no longer needed to keep down the nobility, it was much resorted to by persons whose cases were too intricate for an ordinary jury to unravel. There were those, too, who held it to be a good thing that there should be a court able to do justice against criminals who might not have sinned against the letter of the law, and who might consequently escape if they were brought before the ordinary courts. It may fairly be said to have served a useful purpose as long as the crown and the nation walked in harmony. But if the crown were to go one way, and the nation to go another, a court completely under the influence of the crown might easily be used against the nation which it was intended to serve.

§ 9. The Court of High Commission.

The Court of High Commission was a kind of Ecclesiastical Star Chamber. It was founded by Elizabeth, partly on the strength of an Act of Parliament empowering her to correct abuses in the Church, partly on the strength of her claim to have reasserted for the royal authority the supreme governorship over the Church. It was composed of clergy and laymen appointed by the queen, and was able to fine and imprison as well as to degrade and sus-

pend clergymen from their functions. Here too, as in the case of the Star Chamber, much would depend on the way in which the court exercised its powers. Parliament had intended that they should be used mainly against the spread of Roman Catholic doctrines. Elizabeth, however, used them chiefly against the Puritans, and if Puritanism came to be really accepted by the people and to be opposed by the crown, it would find the Court of High Commission a real hindrance to its development.

§ 10. The royal prerogative.

During the 16th century therefore, all the changes which had taken place in the institutions of the country had all been in favour of the crown. But the rise of the royal power cannot be measured merely by the change of courts and laws. Royalty had come to be regarded as the centre of the national life, as the vindicator of the national rights against the injustice of the nobility at home and the aggression of the Pope and his allies from abroad. The personal flattery with which Elizabeth was surrounded was but the extravagant echo of the wiser judgment of her contemporaries. Nothing is more instructive on this head than the infinitely small part played by Parliament in Shakespeare's historical dramas written during the closing years of Elizabeth's life. He narrates the fortunes of King John without the slightest allusion to Magna Carta. What interests him is the personal struggle of men of various qualities and powers. In *Richard II.* and *Henry IV.* he shows what misery and turmoil follows if once the legal ground of hereditary succession is abandoned. He makes his Richard say that :—

> Not all the water in the rough rude sea
> Can wash the balm from an anointed king.

But Shakespeare's loyalty is to England first, to the king only secondarily, for England's sake. He sees the mis-

chief which Richard's fall had caused. But his sympathies go with Henry IV., the self-sustained practical ruler. Can we doubt that if he had lived half a century later, he would have mourned for Charles, but that his intelligence would have decided for Cromwell?

§ 11. Anecdote of Elizabeth.

As long as Elizabeth lived she was the representative of the nation in the highest sense. With all her faults, and she had many, she sympathised with the people which she ruled. One day, we are told, she asked a lady how she contrived to retain the affection of her husband. The lady replied that 'she had confidence in her husband's understanding and courage, well founded on her own steadfastness not to offend or thwart, but to cherish and obey, whereby she did persuade her husband of her own affection, and in so doing did command his.' 'Go to, go to, mistress,' answered the queen; 'you are wisely bent, I find. After such sort do I keep the goodwill of all my husbands, my good people; for if they did not rest assured of some special love towards them, they would not readily yield me such good obedience.'

§ 12. The new reign.

Would Elizabeth's successor be able to do the same? If he could not, the House of Commons was there to give voice to the national desires, and to claim that power which is the inevitable result of services rendered to the nation. Such a change could hardly be effected without a contest. The strength which had been imparted to the crown that it might accomplish the objects aimed at by the nation would, if their paths diverged, be an obstacle in the course of the nation which only force could overcome.

Section III.—*The Hampton Court Conference and the proposed Union with Scotland.*

The mere fact that Elizabeth's successor was a Scotchman was against him. James I. was lineally descended from Henry VII., but he had not grown up in England, had not been surrounded by Englishmen and habituated to English ways of thinking. His own mental powers were by no means inconsiderable. He usually knew better than other people what sort of thing it was desirable to do. But he had a great aversion to taking trouble of any kind, and he shrunk from the constant supervision of details which is absolutely necessary if the most promising plans are to ripen into fruit. At the same time he was most impatient of opposition. He believed himself to be authorised to rule England, partly by his birth, partly by some divine right connected with his birth; but infinitely more by his own superiority in wisdom. He liked to see questions brought to the test of argument, but was apt to insult those who refused to see things in the light in which he saw them. His Scotch experience was especially likely to bias him in any questions in which Puritanism was concerned. Puritan ascendancy, which was an object of fear in England, had been a fact in Scotland, and James was not likely to forget the day when a Puritan minister had plucked him by the sleeve and had addressed him in public as 'God's silly vassal.'

A.D. 1603. § 1. The new king.

On January 14, 1604, nearly ten months after his accession, James summoned the leading Puritan ministers to meet him at Hampton Court in the presence of the principal bishops, in order that he might learn what ecclesiastical changes were desired by the Puritans. Some of these changes proposed by them

§ 2. The Hampton Court Conference.

were so far adopted that they were referred to commissioners to put into shape for legislation in the coming Parliament. But on the main question James was obdurate. The rules and orders of the Church were to be observed without relaxation. It was not to be left open to any clergyman to decide whether he would wear a surplice or a black gown, whether he would make the sign of the cross in baptism, whether he would give the ring in marriage.

§ 3. Importance of James's decision.

It cannot be said that James's decision was entirely unreasonable. If every minister is to be allowed to take his own course, he may possibly give offence to his congregation by omitting some ceremony to which they are accustomed, as well as by adopting some ceremony to which they are unaccustomed. But an argument which would deserve considerable weight where any dissatisfied members of a congregation are at liberty to withdraw from it, and to establish their own worship apart, is much less valid when it is applied to a state of things in which but one form of worship is allowed for a whole nation. The idea of separate religious bodies each worshipping as they think right would have been repelled by all parties in James's reign, and the only question was whether an iron rule was to be laid down by which all preachers were to be silenced if they refused to adopt the ceremonies authoritatively prescribed.

§ 4. His violent language.

Unhappily, James was not content with announcing his decision. Taking fire at the mention of the word 'presbyter' he blazed up into anger. 'A Scottish presbytery,' he said, 'agreeth as well with a monarchy as God and the devil. Then Jack and Tom and Will and Dick shall meet, and at their pleasures censure me and my council, and all our proceedings. . . Stay, I pray you, for one seven years, before you demand

that from me, and if then you find me pursy and fat, and my windpipes stuffed, I will perhaps hearken to you; for let that government be once up, I am sure I shall be kept in breath; then shall we all of us have work enough. . . . Until you find that I grow lazy, let that alone.'

If the Puritans were irritated by the king's language, the bishops were too well satisfied with the substance of his reply to quarrel with its form. One of their number went so far as to declare that his Majesty spoke by the inspiration of the Spirit of God! The Puritans left his presence bitterly disappointed.

§ 5. Effect of his language.

The House of Commons which met on March 19 was no assembly of Puritans. But it wished that the concessions refused by James should be granted to the Puritans, in order that every possible Christian influence might be brought to bear on the sin and vice around.

§ 6. The Parliament for concession.

The Church question was not the only seed of division between the King and the Commons. He was anxious to bring about a close union between England and Scotland, and he was deeply annoyed when he found that the House was so prejudiced and ignorant as to see all kinds of imaginary dangers in his beneficent design. A state of feeling grew up in which agreement on lesser matters was impossible, and when Parliament was prorogued the schism between King and Commons had already begun.

§ 7. Proposed Union with Scotland.

If the king had not Parliament on his side, he had Convocation. That clerical body was capable of making canons, that is to say, laws binding on the clergy though not on the laity, and it now enforced upon the clergy that uniformity of ceremonies which the king desired. After the prorogation

§ 8. The Canons of 1604.

the new canons were put in force. About three hundred clergymen were expelled from their livings for refusing to conform, and a compulsory peace was imposed on the English Church.

§ 9. The Puritans in opposition.

James had no immediate danger to fear. The Puritans formed but a minority amongst the clergy and laity, and the ease with which so harsh a measure was carried out is strong evidence that the existing ceremonies were at least tacitly accepted by the mass of the people. But there was a feeling abroad that the expulsion of these men was injurious to the cause of religion, and if events came to make the crown otherwise unpopular, Puritanism would be a force added to the side of its adversaries.

§ 10. Abbot's archbishopric.

For six years the work of enforcing conformity went on. In 1610 Abbot was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury. He himself conformed to the Church ceremonial, but he was a lax disciplinarian, and he sympathised to some extent with the feelings of the Puritans. Under his management the rule of the Church was less strictly exercised. Here and there the surplice was dropped, and portions of the service omitted at the discretion of the minister. But it was one thing to allow liberty within certain limits by a fixed law: it was another thing to allow liberty by the mere remissness of one who ought to have been the guardian of the law. What one archbishop allowed might easily be forbidden by another.

A.D. 1607. § 11. Settlement of the Union question.

Meanwhile the question of the union with Scotland dragged slowly on, and it was only in 1607 that the Commons made one or two unimportant concessions. Though they professed their readiness to examine the question at a future time, James preferred cutting the knot as far as he was able to do so. The Judges were either less amenable than

the Commons to popular prejudice, or were ready, under any circumstances, to give effect to the doctrine of their law-books. They decided that all Scotchmen born since his accession to the English throne were naturalised Englishmen. All hopes of obtaining any closer union between the two nations were abandoned for the present.

SECTION IV.—*The New Impositions and the Great Contract.*

Besides the great questions of conformity in the Church and of union with Scotland, others had been raised which might have been settled without difficulty if the crown and the House of Commons had been agreed on more important matters. A feeling of irritation was daily growing, and there was one way in which the irritation of the Commons could easily find expression. The king was in want of a permanent supply of money, and unless all the traditions of the English constitution were to be reversed, he could not have it without a grant from the House of Commons.

A.D. 1606. § 1. James's money difficulties.

It was not wholly his fault. Elizabeth had carried on an expensive war upon a miserably insufficient revenue, and even if James had been as parsimonious as she had been, he could hardly have avoided a large deficit. As a married man, his household expenses were certain to be more than those of an unmarried queen. At his first coming he had no notion that he had any reason to be parsimonious at all. After his experience of Scottish poverty, the resources of the English exchequer seemed to be boundless, and he flung pensions and gifts with an unsparing hand amongst his favourites. The result was that before he had been on the throne four years an expenditure of about 500,000*l.*

§ 2. Condition of the finances.

a year had to be provided for out of a revenue of about 320,000*l.* a year.

Under these circumstances it was difficult to resist the temptation of getting money in any way which would not involve immediate risk. Just at this time the temptation was offered. At the beginning of every reign customs duties upon goods imported and exported were granted to the crown by Parliament under the name of tonnage and poundage. But besides these Mary and Elizabeth had demanded certain small payments called impositions without any Parliamentary grant. James had added further impositions on currants and tobacco. In 1606 a merchant named Bate refused to pay the imposition on currants. The case was brought before the Court of Exchequer, and the Judges decided that the king had a right by law to set impositions on merchandise without any grant from Parliament. It is generally allowed now that the Judges were wrong. But the fact that they had so decided was of the utmost importance. The king could always say that he might raise as much money in this way as he pleased, and would still be keeping within the law.

§ 3. Judgment on Bate's case.

In 1608 advantage was taken of this decision. New impositions were laid on merchandise to the amount of 70,000*l.* But even this would not fill up a yearly deficit of 180,000*l.*, and in 1610 Parliament was asked to come to the aid of the crown.

A.D. 1608. § 4. The new impositions.

A bargain was accordingly entered into—the Great Contract, as it was called—by which the king was to surrender certain harsh and antiquated rights, and was to receive in return a revenue equal to 200,000*l.* a year. But before the bargain was actually completed, the question of the new impositions was discussed, and the House of Commons had no difficulty in

§ 5. The Great Contract.

deciding them to be illegal. But a resolution of the Commons, without the assent of the king and the House of Lords, could not make that illegal which the Judges had pronounced to be legal. James voluntarily remitted some of the impositions to the value of 20,000*l.*, and a little later he offered to surrender his right to raise any more, if Parliament would confirm his hold upon what he had already got.

§ 6. Breach between the king and his first Parliament.

Before this agreement could be embodied in an Act of Parliament, the time for the summer vacation had arrived. It was resolved that there should be another session in the winter to carry out the arrangement. When the winter came, the temper of the two parties had altered for the worse. The members of Parliament had talked over the matter with their constituents, and had come to the conclusion that they were asked to give too much. The king had talked over the matter with his ministers, and had come to the conclusion that he would receive too little. Under these circumstances no agreement was possible. The king dissolved his first Parliament in disgust. He retained a heavy debt and a large deficit. He retained, too, the right acknowledged to be his by the Judges, of levying any customs duties he chose by his sole will and pleasure.

A.D. 1612. § 7. Bacon's advice.

Good advice was not wanting to James. Bacon, who had told him plainly what he ought to do with the Puritans, told him plainly what he ought to do with his financial difficulties. It was a mistake, Bacon argued, to bargain with the House of Commons. If they were asked to take part in a bargain, they would naturally try to get as much as they could for themselves, and to give as little as they could to the king. The thing to be remembered was that the king and the Parliament were members of one body with com-

mon interests and common work. It was for the king to rule well and wisely, without bargaining for anything in return. If he did this, if he secured the love and esteem of his subjects, he would have no difficulty in obtaining from them all the money for which he could fitly wish.

Bacon's advice was not taken. In 1614 another Parliament was summoned, and another bargain was opened. The king did not offer to surrender so much as he had offered before, and he did not ask for so much money in return. But his principle of action was the same, and the result was the same. The House took the question of impositions into consideration before they would grant a penny, and again declared that the king had no right to levy them. James at once dissolved Parliament after a sitting of a few weeks. It produced no statute, and was consequently known in history as the Addled Parliament.

A.D. 1614. § 8. The Parliament of 1614.

CHAPTER II.

THE SPANISH ALLIANCE.

SECTION I.—*Gunpowder Plot.*

THE relations between James and the Puritans were to some extent modified after the appointment of Abbot to the archbishopric. Some connivance was extended to those of the nonconformists who did not make themselves too obtrusive. The relations between James and the Catholics, on the other hand, had some time before Abbot's appointment become harsher than they were at the beginning of the reign.

A.D. 1603. § 1. Relations between James and the Catholics.

By the Elizabethan legislation, the Recusants, as

the Catholics who refused to go to church were called, were in evil case. The richest amongst them were liable to a fine of 20*l.* a month. Land-owners who could not afford to pay this were deprived of two-thirds of their income. Persons who had no lands might have their goods and chattels seized and sold for the benefit of the exchequer. Any one of these men was liable to excommunication, and an excommunicated man could be sent to prison without any further formality. To say mass as a priest, or to assist a priest in doing so, was punishable with death. Of course these harsh penalties were considerably modified in practice. But every man who did not come to church knew that they were suspended over his head, perhaps to fall without a moment's warning.

§ 2. The Recusancy laws.

Before his accession, James, being anxious to secure adherents, had given hopes of lightening the burthens which pressed upon the Catholics. Not long after his arrival in England he informed the principal Catholics that, as long as they behaved as loyal subjects, the fines would no longer be exacted. But he still had reason for disquietude. There had been plots and rumours of plots, and the number of the recusants had largely increased as soon as the legal penalties had been suspended. In February 1604 James banished all priests from England, though as yet he took no active measures against the laity.

§ 3. James's promises to the Catholics.

There were Catholics in England who were ready to dare anything for the triumph of their Church. As soon as the proclamation for the banishment of the priests appeared, Robert Catesby, a man steeped in plots and conspiracies, proposed to one or two friends to blow up King, Lords, and Commons with gunpowder. Guy Fawkes, a cool and daring soldier, was sent for from Flanders to assist in the

A.D. 1604. § 4. Formation of the gunpowder plot.

execution of the scheme. Others were by degrees admitted to the secret, and there can be little doubt that two or three priests were of the number. They took a house adjoining the House of Lords, and proceeded to dig through the wall, in order that they might place their barrels of powder under the floor before the opening of the next session. The wall was nine feet thick, and after some weeks' work they had made but little way. Water flowed in and hindered their operations. Superstitious fancies gathered thickly round them, and they imagined that they were accompanied in their labours by unearthly sounds.

A.D. 1605. § 5. Inforcement of the penal laws.

In the spring of 1605 James, frightened at the increase in the number of recusants, put the laws again in force against the Roman Catholic laity. The conspirators felt a fresh spur to their enterprise. At the same time an accident relieved them from further trouble. An adjoining cellar, reaching under the House of Lords without any intervening wall, was found to be for hire. It was taken in the name of one of the conspirators. The powder which they needed was safely lodged in it, and was covered with faggots in order to conceal it from any chance visitant. All that remained was to prepare for the insurrection which was to follow after the fatal deed had been accomplished.

§ 6. The plot betrayed.

To hire a cellar and to buy a few barrels of powder, was an exploit within the means of the conspirators. More money than they could command was needed to prepare for an insurrection. Three rich Catholics were informed of the project, and their purses were laid under contribution. One of them, anxious for the safety of a relative who was a member of the House of Lords, contrived that information should be given to the government in such a way that the conspirators might be themselves warned in time to fly.

The conspirators received the warning, but they refused to believe it to be true. Parliament was to be opened on November 5. On the night of the 4th Fawkes was seized watching over the powder barrels. The next morning the other plotters were flying for their lives. Some were killed before they could be taken. Others were captured and died a traitor's death.

§ 7. Failure of the plot.

The detected conspiracy was fatal to the hopes of the Catholics. The laws against them were made harsher than ever, and the fines were more unremittingly exacted. The door of mercy seemed closed against them for many a year.

§ 8. Result of the conspiracy.

Section II.—*James I. and Spain.*

The detection of the Gunpowder Plot rekindled the old feelings of antipathy against Spain as well as against the Catholics at home. James, if carried away for a moment, did not fully share in these feelings. If only he could be assured that his authority in England was in no danger, his natural aversion to cruelty would make him shrink from persecution, and he was inclined to look with favour upon a Spanish alliance which might help him to prevent a fresh outbreak of war in Europe.

A.D. 1606. § 1. Unpopularity of Spain.

But he was not content with offering to join Spain in keeping the peace. In 1611 he proposed to marry his son to a Spanish infanta. In 1614, after the dissolution of Parliament, the proposal was repeated. Money he must have, and if he could not get money from Parliament he would get it from the King of Spain as a daughter's portion. He imagined that he would not be pressed to give more to the English Catholics in return than a connivance at

A.D. 1611. § 2. Spanish marriage proposed.

their worship in private houses, a concession which might be withdrawn at his pleasure if it became dangerous. In 1617 the negotiation was formally opened, the Spaniards all the while intending to refuse the hand of their princess in the end unless they could obtain the conditions which they thought sufficient to secure the conversion of England.

A.D. 1617. § 3. Raleigh's mine.

James's want of money led to another act which has weighed upon his memory even more deeply than his Spanish alliance. Sir Walter Raleigh, sea-rover, statesman, coloniser, and historian, had entangled himself in an inexplicable way in a plot soon after James's accession, and had been condemned to death. Reprieved upon the scaffold, he had been left in the Tower for many years, where he had solaced himself by writing the History of the World. But his thoughts were far away across the Atlantic waves amidst the forests of America, and he had to tell of a golden mine on the banks of the Orinoco rich enough to make the fortune of a king. James listened half incredulously. But there were those about him who wished him to give ear to the tale,—men to whom the friendship of Spain was hateful, and who wished to cut loose the ties which were binding England to the Catholic king, and to see once more the rovers of Plymouth and Barnstaple bringing home rich prizes taken in Spanish seas.

§ 4. The expedition to Guiana.

James had no wish to break with Spain; but he had an eye to the gold. He made Raleigh promise not to go near Spanish territory, and explained to him that if he touched a Spaniard he must answer for it with his head. Raleigh, freed from prison, hastened to the Orinoco. He firmly believed that if he could only get the gold, he would not be held to his engagements. He sent his men up the river without distinct orders to avoid fighting. They seized and plun-

dered a Spanish town. The golden mine eluded their search. Raleigh's eldest son was killed in the attack. Heartbroken at the failure, he proposed to his captains to lie in wait for the Spanish treasure ships, which would furnish gold enough to a bold assailant. His captains refused to follow him, and he had to come back to England with nothing in his hands. James sent him to the scaffold for a fault which he ought never to have given him the chance of committing.

Everything to which James put his hand was marred in the execution. His own life was virtuous and upright. But he contrived to surround himself with those who were neither virtuous nor upright. Placed amongst men who were anxious to drag him in ways in which he did not think fit to go, he hit upon the plan of educating some young man who would be his companion in amusements and his private secretary in business, who would be the dispenser of his patronage, and would, above all, save him the thankless task of saying No, when favours were asked. The first whom he chose was Robert Carr, a young Scotchman, who seemed to possess the needful qualities, and who finally became Earl of Somerset. Somerset assisted James in the negotiations with Spain which preceded the open avowal of the negotiations for the Spanish marriage. But Somerset's head was turned by his advancement. He fell in love with the wife of the Earl of Essex, and married her, after procuring a divorce under circumstances which called down upon her the reprobation of honest men. Not long afterwards a murder which had been committed was traced to her contrivance, and her husband was vehemently suspected of assisting her. Both were brought to trial, and sentenced to death. Both received pardon from the king, though their position at court was ruined.

A.D. 1613. § 5. Rise of Somerset.

Somerset was succeeded by George Villiers, soon afterwards created Earl, then Marquis, and ultimately Duke of Buckingham. In ability and gentleness of disposition Buckingham was far superior to Somerset. It is possible that if he had risen by slow degrees he might have done good service to the commonwealth. But so sudden a rise was enough to spoil anyone. It is true that for many a year James kept the decision of political questions in his own hands. But anyone who wanted advancement at court must come to Buckingham. Gentlemen who wished to be made barons, and barons who wished to be made earls; lawyers who aspired to be judges, and judges who aspired to a more lucrative employment in the administration of the finances or in the actual government of the state, must bow down to Buckingham and propitiate his favour. Wealth poured in to support his dignity, and in a year or two the youth who could at one time scarcely afford to buy himself a new suit of clothes, was with one exception the richest peer in England. No wonder his head was turned. No wonder he expected submission full and complete to every fancy which might pass through his brain. He had kinsmen, too, to be remembered as well as himself, a mother to be made much of at court, brothers to be made peers, portionless nieces and cousins to be married to men who were aspirants for office. Foolishly compliant as James was in this, there was a method in it all. He wanted to shake himself loose from the trammels of the House of Lords, as he wanted to shake himself loose from the trammels of the House of Commons, and he hoped that the new peers who owed their exaltation to the good word of Buckingham, and sometimes to the sums of money which they paid over to Buckingham or to the king himself, would steadily give him their votes for ever after

A.D. 1615. § 6. Advancement of Buckingham.

James's internal government in these years was better in intention than in its result. He wished to do right to all men. Case after case arose in which some high officer of state was found guilty of wrongdoing, and James made no attempt to shelter anyone from the consequences of his fault. But there were not a few who naturally thought that the remedy was as bad as the disease, and that the system which compelled the officers of state to hang upon the favour or the smile of an inexperienced youth was itself the hotbed of corruption.

§ 7. James's internal government.

James's conception of the limits of his own authority was in the main the same as that of Elizabeth. He had sworn, he said, in a speech which he delivered on a solemn occasion in 1616, to do justice and to maintain the law, 'the common law of the land, according to which the king governs, and by which the people are governed.' He had, he added, 'as far as human frailty might permit him, or his knowledge inform him,' kept his oath. If the law was uncertain, uncertainties must be removed by Parliament. But it was his business to see that the Judges did not introduce novelties out of their own heads. The prerogative of the crown was in this respect regarded by James as giving him authority to control the self-will of the Judges. 'This,' he said, 'is a thing regal and proper to a king, to keep every court within its true bounds.' Then, waxing warm, he added words which seem rather startling at present: 'As for the absolute prerogative of the crown, that is no subject for the tongue of a lawyer, nor is it lawful to be disputed. It is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do; good Christians content themselves with His will revealed in His word; so it is presumption and high contempt in a subject to dispute what a king can do, or say that a king cannot

A.D. 1616. § 8. His view of his own authority.

do this or that; but rest in that which is the king's will revealed in his law.'

§ 9. How far was he in the right?

It is easy to look upon these words as a mere absurdity. Yet not only are they worthy of consideration, but they will be found to furnish the key to much of the subsequent history. The fact is that no nation can be governed by general rules. Those rules being the work of fallible human creatures, cannot possibly embrace all points of difficulty that may arise. When new difficulties come up for settlement there must be some living intelligence to meet them, to frame new rules, to enlarge the old ones, and to see that persons entrusted with carrying them out do not misuse their authority. With us this living intelligence is looked for in Parliament, or in ministers acting in responsibility to Parliament. Under the Tudor constitution new rules could only be laid down by the combined operation of king and Parliament. But it was considered to be the king's business to keep the machine of government in working order, and to make special provision for temporary emergencies, without responsibility to anyone. James's vague language doubtless implied assumptions of a dangerous kind, but in the main he meant no more than that the limits to the exercise of this special power were in themselves indefinable. The power must be used when occasion called it out, and no one could say beforehand how it would be right for him to act in any given circumstances.

A.D. 1617. § 10. Would he be able to keep his authority?

So far, then, James was but carrying out the system of his predecessors. But he forgot that the success of every system depends upon the spirit in which it is worked. The Tudor sovereigns were hungry for popularity, and drew back from attempting to realise their dearest wishes if they ran counter to the settled desire of the nation

James fancied himself above popularity. Puritanism, it is true, had for a time ceased to be dangerous. But James's foreign policy was such as to try the patience of Englishmen. It would be bad enough to throw the force of England into the scale against Protestantism abroad. But a nearer and more appalling danger was imminent. A Spanish marriage for the Prince of Wales meant privileges for the English Catholics at home, it meant the chance of seeing their numbers so increase through the connivance of the court, that they would be able to force their will upon the consciences of Protestant Englishmen. It possibly might mean that the future children of the Prince of Wales would be brought up as opponents of the belief of Englishmen, and would some day be able to use the royal authority in favour of the Church of their mother. If Puritanism awoke again from its slumbers, and arrayed its powers in opposition to this royal authority which James valued so highly, the cause must primarily be sought in this unhappy Spanish marriage upon which he had set his heart.

SECTION III.—*The Spaniards in the Palatinate.*

In 1618, that which James had long striven to avert came to pass. The flames of war broke out in Bohemia, and there was every probability that they would spread far before they were quenched. The German States were divided by political differences; still more widely by religious differences. Whatever form any dispute took in Germany was sure to settle down ultimately into a quarrel between Catholics and Protestants. This was precisely what James disliked, and he did his best to persuade the combatants that they had better not fight about religion.

A D. 1618. § 1. The Bohemian Revolution.

He gave plenty of good advice, which those who received it never thought of taking.

Yet, after all, it must be remembered that James's advice was good in itself. Nothing better could have happened for Europe, then on the verge of the horrible Thirty Years' War, than that the different powers should have allowed a well-meaning, disinterested man like James to settle what their rights were. But as there was not the least chance of this, all that he had really to decide on was whether he would keep entirely aloof, or whether he ought to interfere on one side or the other.

§ 2. James's advice good on the whole.

This was precisely what he could not do. He wavered from hour to hour. At one moment some violent and unreasonable action on the Catholic side would make him think that he ought to undertake the defence of the German Protestants. At another moment some violent and unreasonable action on the Protestant side would make him think that he ought to leave the German Protestants to their fate.

§ 3. His inaction.

In 1619 his difficulties became still more distracting. His son-in-law Frederick ruled, as Elector Palatine, over the pleasant lands which stretched in a straggling course from the Moselle to the frontier of Bohemia. Frederick, though incapacitated by his weakness of character from taking a leading part in a great political struggle, was marked out by his high dignity as the natural leader of those German princes who believed a struggle with the Roman Catholic powers to be unavoidable. He was now chosen King of Bohemia by the Bohemian revolutionists in opposition to the Archduke Ferdinand, who was already legally in possession of that crown. Two days later Ferdinand was chosen Emperor, and in both capacities he called upon the

A.D. 1619. § 4. His son-in-law King of Bohemia.

Catholic states to assist him against Frederick, whom he naturally stigmatised as a mere usurper.

With little hesitation James came to the conclusion that Frederick had no right to Bohemia, and that he could give him no assistance there. But what was he to do if the Spanish forces, setting out from the Netherlands, were to swoop down on the Palatinate and to keep it as a pledge for the surrender of Bohemia? On the one hand, if his son-in-law had no right to Bohemia, all means were lawful to make him let go his hold. If, on the other hand, the Spaniards once established themselves in the Palatinate, it would be difficult to get them out again. The solution which called for the least action was always preferred by James, and he contented himself with allowing a regiment of English volunteers to go to the Palatinate under Sir Horace Vere, to be supported by such means as Frederick had it in his power to give.

A.D. 1620. § 5. Volunteers for the Palatinate.

In the summer of 1620 the blow fell. Whilst Bavarians and Saxons and Imperialists were pouring into Bohemia, a well-appointed Spanish force marched up the Rhine and seized the Western Palatinate. James was for the moment stung to resolution by the news. He summoned Parliament to enable him to defend the inheritance of his daughter and her children. Before Parliament had time to meet, that daughter and her husband were flying from Bohemia after a crushing defeat on the White Hill, outside the walls of Prague.

§ 6. The Spaniards in the Palatinate.

When Parliament met, James called upon it for supplies in order that he might be able to negotiate with a sword in his hand. But he did not propose to send troops immediately into Germany, and the House of Commons contented itself with voting a small supply, without binding itself for

A.D. 1621. § 7. The Parliament of 1621.

the future. James talked of negotiating, and of fighting if negotiation proved useless. The Germans who were nearest the danger thought he ought to send an army first and negotiate afterwards. The princes allied with Frederick were discouraged and submitted to the Emperor. The King of Denmark, Christian IV., who was preparing to come to their aid, was terrified when he heard of James's procrastination. 'By God,' he said to the English ambassador, 'this business is gone too far to think it can be redressed with words only. I thank God we hope, with the help of his Majesty of Great Britain and the rest of our friends, to give unto the Count Palatine good conditions. If ever we do any good for the liberty of Germany and religion it is now time.' James had but words to give, and Christian retired from the conflict to wait for better days.

§ 8. Temper of the Commons.

The House of Commons was out of humour. Its members had the feeling that they were being badly led, and yet they were powerless to secure another leader. They turned fiercely upon domestic grievances.

§ 9. The monopolies.

Foremost of these were the monopolies. Partly through a wish to encourage home manufactures, partly through a fondness for over-regulation of commerce, private persons were allowed by the government to possess the sole right of selling various articles of trade. One set of persons, for instance, was privileged to make all the glass used in England, because these persons entered into a compact not to use wood in their furnaces, and it was held that the consumption of wood would shorten the supply of timber for the navy. Another set of persons was allowed to make all the gold and silver thread used in England, because they promised to employ only foreign gold and silver in the manufacture, and as gold and silver were in those days believed exclusively

to constitute wealth, it was thought to be desirable that English wealth should not go into the melting-pot. Besides these monopolies there were regulations for the licensing of inns, and fees to be paid to the licensers. As these licensers and other persons engaged in keeping up the monopolies were always friends or dependents of Buckingham, there was a general impression that the courtiers and even the king himself made vast sums of money by these proceedings. In reality the amount obtained by the courtiers was grossly exaggerated, and the king obtained little or nothing. Still there can be no doubt that, even according to the theories of the day, many of these monopolies ought never to have been granted, and that, especially in the case of the gold and silver thread, very harsh means were taken of enforcing the provisions of the grant, some of which were undoubtedly in contradiction to the spirit, if not to the letter of the law.

James yielded to the storm, and abandoned the monopolies. But behind the feeling against the monopolies was an indignation at the traffic in place and power which was being carried on under the shadow of Buckingham's protection. The Chief Justice of England had recently retired from the bench, and had received a more lucrative office as Lord Treasurer. 'Take care, my Lord,' said Bacon to him, drily, as he was going down to Newmarket, to receive the staff which was the symbol of his new office; 'wood is dearer at Newmarket than in any other place in England.' He had in fact to pay 20,000*l.* for the office. The price of a peerage was as well known as the price of a commission in the army was known a few years ago.

§ 10. General corruption.

To the indignation thus aroused Bacon was the first victim. Raised to the highest dignity of the law, he was now Lord Chancellor of England. But the hope which

had been his when he had devoted himself to politics, if it remained at all, flickered with but a feeble ray. Once he had believed that he might do good service to the State. He lived to find his advice taken on legal details, but rejected on high matters of policy. In the building up of the royal authority the was of infinite service, and it was with his goodwil if not under his direct action, that a series of retrenchments, with the help of the growing commercial prosperity of the kingdom, had filled up the deficit, and had freed the king from the necessity of seeking aid in time of peace from the Commons, except so far as he needed money for the payment of debts incurred in the past days of extravagance. But in the direction of the policy of England his word was of slight avail.

§ 11. Bacon's position.

The blow which struck him down reached him from an unexpected quarter. If there was one thing upon which he prided himself more than another it was upon the justice of his decisions as a judge. Charge after charge was brought before the Commons accusing him of bribery, and these charges were by them sent up to the Lords. At first he fancied that the charges were invented to serve a political purpose. 'If this be to be a Chancellor,' he said, mournfully, 'I think if the great seal lay upon Hounslow Heath, nobody would take it up.' But it soon became plain, even to him, that there was real ground for the accusation. In those days a judge received a merely nominal salary from the government, and was paid by suitors' fees. In Chancery a looser system prevailed, and the Lord Chancellor was in the habit of receiving presents from the winning party after a suit had been decided. As far as it is possible to ascertain the truth, it does not seem that Bacon's judgments were affected by the money which he received. But there is no doubt that

§ 12. His accusation.

he took money when suits were still undecided, and under circumstances which deprived him of any valid excuse for the action. His own opinion of the case is probably, in the main, the true one. His sentence was 'just, and for reformation sake fit,' yet he was 'the justest Chancellor' that had been since his father's time.

His sentence was heavy. Stripped of his offices, fined and imprisoned, he owed the alleviation of his penalty to the favour of the king. He acknowledged his fault. 'My Lords,' he said, 'it is my act, my hand, my heart. I beseech your lordships be merciful unto a broken reed.' Never again was a judge accused of corruption in the exercise of his judicial functions. § 13. His sentence.

The revival of impeachments—for, though Bacon's trial differed from an ordinary impeachment in some details, it may well be reckoned amongst them—was an event of the highest constitutional importance. In an impeachment the House of Commons, acting as the grand jury of the whole country, presented offenders against the commonwealth to be judged by the House of Lords, sitting as judge and jury combined. Impeachments for political objects are found in two distinct periods; the first reaching from the reign of Edward III. to that of Henry VI., the other reaching from the reign of James I. to that of George I. This chronology speaks for itself. When the predominance either of King or Parliament was secured, it was felt to be better that political opponents should be dealt with by mere dismissal from office, and that criminal offences, excepting during the reign of terror which marked the later times of Henry VIII., should be tried before professional judges. But when Parliament was engaged in a struggle with the kingly power, and had not the acknowledged right to dismiss the ministers of the crown, it seemed the best way to give a legal colour to the charge, § 14. Revival of impeachments.

whilst the accused were sent before a tribunal which was strongly swayed by political feeling. In Bacon's case there can be no doubt that the indignation was genuine and well-founded. But when once the system was recalled to life, it would be easy to exaggerate faults committed, and to demand punishment for a crime, when dismissal for political wrong-doing could not otherwise be obtained.

SECTION IV.—*The Loss of the Palatinate.*

Time was passing rapidly, and nothing serious had been done for the Palatinate. Before the House of Commons adjourned for the summer, it voted a declaration of sympathy with the German Protestants, and protested that if his Majesty failed to secure peace by negotiation, they would be ready to the uttermost of their powers, 'both with their lives and fortunes, to assist him.' This declaration, said one who was present, 'comes from heaven. It will do more for us than if we had ten thousand soldiers on the march.' It was put and carried by acclamation. 'It was entertained with much joy and a general consent of the whole House, and sounded forth with the voices of them all, withal lifting up their hats in their hands as high as they could hold them, as a visible testimony of their unanimous consent, in such sort that the like had scarce ever been seen in Parliament.'

§ 1. Declaration of the Commons.

The mediation in Germany was entrusted to Lord Digby, a wise and experienced diplomatist who had before represented the King of England at Madrid. When he reached Vienna it was too late to interpose. On the one hand Frederick's allies had fallen rapidly from him and had made their peace with the Emperor. On the other hand he had entrusted the defence of the Upper Palatinate to Count Mansfeld,

§ 2. Digby's mission to Vienna.

an adventurer who was quite accustomed to live upon plunder, and who being of necessity left without money or supplies, had no other means of supporting his army. Ferdinand expressed his readiness to forgive Frederick if he would abandon his claims, withdraw all resistance, and humbly acknowledge his offence. Frederick announced that he was ready, if the possession of his territories and honours were assured him, to relinquish his claims to the kingdom of Bohemia, and to make some formal acknowledgment of submission. Before Digby could reconcile these conflicting views, war blazed up afresh. Mansfeld, unable to defend the Upper Palatinate, retreated hastily to the Lower, followed by Tilly at the head of the Imperial forces. When James heard the news he hastily summoned Parliament to ask for money to enable him to keep Mansfeld's men on foot during the winter.

The Commons agreed to give the money for which the king asked. But between their views and his there was a wide difference. The king continued to entertain a hope that if he was obliged to break with the Emperor, he might still retain the goodwill of Spain; and he had never abandoned the negotiations for the Prince's marriage with the Infanta. The Commons saw that Spain had been the first to occupy towns in the Palatinate. They believed even more than was really the case that Spain was the prime offender, and that if Spain were defeated all danger would be at an end. As Sir Robert Phelips, the most impetuous orator in the House, put it, there was the great wheel of Spain and the little wheel of the German princes. If the great wheel were stopped, the little wheel would stop of itself.

§ 3. The Commons' distrust of Spain.

James doubtless knew more than the Commons of Continental politics. But, as often happens, difference of opinion on one point is only the outcome of far wider dif-

ferences in the background. With the Commons the Emperor was but a name and nothing more. Spain and not the Emperor had interfered in favour of the English Catholics. Spain and not the Emperor was trying by marrying its princess to the heir of the English crown to get a footing within the fortress, and to subdue England by intrigue as it was subduing the Palatinate by force.

§ 4. The Commons and the Spanish marriage.

As a matter of policy, James may very likely have been right in wanting to fight the Emperor without having to fight Spain as well. But in the main the Commons were in the right. Such a war as that which was being fought out on the Continent was a war of opinion. The real question was whether Protestantism should extend its borders to the detriment of Catholicism, or Catholicism should extend its borders to the detriment of Protestantism. James, wisely enough, wished for neither. But as the fight had begun, he must either leave it alone or throw himself on the Protestant side, trying to moderate his allies if they gained the victory. As both parties were thoroughly excited, it was no use to expect the Spaniards to join him in defending a Protestant prince against their own friends.

§ 5. James cannot conciliate Spain.

The Commons therefore were consistent in telling James that he ought to break with Spain entirely. They added that he ought to put himself at the head of the Continental Protestants against Spain. He ought to enforce the penal laws against the Catholics at home. He ought to marry his son to a princess of his own religion.

§ 6. Advice of the Commons.

To this advice James refused even to listen. The Commons, he said, had no right to treat of business on which he had not asked their opinion. They replied by a protestation of their right

§ 7. Dissolution of Parliament.

to treat of any business they pleased. James tore the protestation out of their Journal Book with his own hands, and dissolved Parliament.

It may be that it would have been more prudent in the Commons to engage James in the war, and to wait till necessity brought on a quarrel with Spain. But it was hardly to be expected that they should repose confidence in the king. For four years everything that he had undertaken had gone wrong, and it was but too probable that everything would go wrong again.

§ 8. Want of confidence in James.

James did not consider the Palatinate as lost. There was an Act of Parliament, passed in the reign of Richard III., by which kings were forbidden to levy money from their subjects under the name of a benevolence. But in 1614 the crown lawyers had interpreted this to mean only that nobody could be compelled to pay a benevolence, whilst there was nothing to prevent the king from asking his subjects to give him money if they chose to do so. At that time therefore a benevolence had been demanded and obtained. Another was now asked for, and James thus got together enough to pay Vere's volunteers for a few months. He tried diplomacy once more. But neither his diplomacy nor such arms as he could command without Parliamentary aid were of any avail. Step by step the Palatinate was lost. Its defenders were defeated and its fortresses fell into the enemy's hands. Spain was lavish of promises. But her promises were never fulfilled.

A.D. 1622. § 9. The loss of the Palatinate.

SECTION V.—*The Journey to Madrid.*

Whilst ambassadors were writing despatches, Buckingham allowed himself to be persuaded that there was still one path to success if every other failed. If he could

take the Prince with him to court the Infanta at Madrid

§ 1. The idea of the Spanish journey.

the Spaniards would hardly dare, in the face of such a compliment, to refuse to give him the Palatinate as a wedding present. Charles was easily persuaded, and the two young men told the king what they were going to do.

The old man was much troubled. He fancied that he should never again see his son,—Baby Charles, as he

§ 2. James informed.

playfully called him. But he had never in his life been able to say No to anyone he loved, and he could not do so now. With a heavy heart he gave the permission which had been asked only as a matter of form.

Charles and Buckingham put on false beards, and started as Tom and John Smith. When they passed the

A.D. 1623. § 3. The journey.

ferry at Gravesend, the Prince gave the boatman a purse of gold. Supposing them to be duellists intending to cross the sea to fight, the man gave information to the magistrates, and a chase was ordered. But the picked horses of Buckingham's stable were not easily to be run down, and the party got clear off. At Canterbury they were taken for murderers escaping from justice, and Buckingham had to pull off his beard and show himself, inventing a story to account for his unexpected presence. After this there was no further difficulty. At Paris Charles saw his future wife, a child of thirteen, the Princess Henrietta Maria ; but he does not seem to have taken much notice of her. Arriving without further adventure at Madrid, he knocked at the door of the English ambassador, the Lord Digby who had been employed at Vienna, and had recently been created Earl of Bristol.

The King of Spain received the Prince with every demonstration of friendliness. In truth, he was in a sad dilemma. He had no objection to seeing the Palatinate

given back, provided that he could do it without injuring his Church or offending his kinsman the Emperor. If it could be arranged that Frederick's sons should be brought up at Vienna, no doubt they would be persuaded to become Catholics, and everything would be properly settled. Then again, there was the difficulty about the marriage of his sister the Infanta Maria. He had never meant that it should come to anything unless James would grant such complete liberty of worship to the English Catholics as to give them a chance—a certainty as ardent Spaniards thought—of reconverting England. And now the poor girl had been crying bitterly, and assuring him that even under such circumstances she could not possibly marry a heretic. Her confessor had worked her up to a pitch of despair. 'What a comfortable bedfellow you will have,' he said to her; 'he who lies by your side, and who will be the father of your children, is certain to go to hell.'

§ 4. The Spaniards in a dilemma.

At first, escape from these difficulties seemed not so very hard. Surely, thought the Spaniards, the Prince would never have come to Madrid if he had not meant to be converted. Charles encouraged the notion by holding his tongue in his usual silent way. They plied him with arguments and got up a religious conference in his presence. But he had no mind to pay attention to anything of the kind, and Buckingham behaved to the priests with special rudeness.

§ 5. They try to convert the Prince,

If the Spaniards could not convert the Prince, the next best thing was to throw on some one else the blame of their refusal to allow him to marry the Infanta. There could be no marriage with a Protestant without the Pope's leave, and as they knew that the Pope disliked the marriage, they hoped that he would refuse to allow it. But the Pope was too wary for that. He thought

§ 6. And hope that the Pope will forbid the marriage.

that if the marriage was broken off by himself, Charles and his father would take vengeance for their disappointment on the English Catholics. If it was broken off by the King of Spain, they would only be angry with the Spaniards. He granted the permission on condition that the King of Spain would swear that James and Charles would perform the promise which they were required to make in favour of the English Catholics.

§ 7. Decision of the King of Spain.

What was the king to do? How could he possibly swear that James would fulfil his promise? He referred his case of conscience to a council of theologians, and the theologians decided that the best way to secure James's fulfilment of his promises was to keep the Infanta in Spain for a year after the marriage had taken place. By that time it would be seen what had been really done in England. The advice thus given was adopted by Philip.

§ 8. Charles's love-making.

Charles writhed under the pressure put upon him. At one time he bristled up in anger and declared that he would go home to England. But he could not tear himself away. Step by step he offered to do more and more for the English Catholics, hoping that he would be allowed in return for mere words to take his bride with him. It was all in vain. His attempts at making love, too, were singularly unfortunate. One day he jumped over the wall into a garden in which the Infanta was walking. The young lady, who thoroughly detested her heretic admirer, shrieked and fled. On another occasion he was allowed to pay a visit to his mistress in the presence of all the court, and some formal words were set down which he was expected to utter. Unable to restrain himself he began to declare his affection in words of his own choice. At once the bystanders began to whisper to one another. The queen frowned, and the Infanta, though she was

deeply annoyed, and had lately been heard to say that the only consolation which she could find in the marriage was that she should die a martyr, had sufficient self-possession to speak the words set down for her and to bring the interview to an end.

§ 9. The marriage treaty.

In England the Infanta's feeling was fully reciprocated. Even James had never realised at all that he would be required to concede so much. 'We are building a temple to the devil,' he said, in speaking of the chapel which he was required to prepare for the Infanta. But he dared not risk his son's safety by refusing anything that was asked. He swore, and forced his council to swear, to the treaty as it was sent to him. The Infanta was to have her public church to which all Englishmen who chose might have access. She was to control the education of her children during the impressionable years of childhood. The Catholics were to be allowed liberty of worship in their private houses.

§ 10. Its unpopularity in England.

Much of this sounds innocent enough now. But it was not thought innocent then. The religion which was to be tolerated was backed by a vast organisation with powerful fleets and armies at its back. The change was to be effected not because it was a good change, but because it was desirable to please the master of those fleets and armies. The marriage itself was an offence to England. The English kingship had been the centre of resistance to a foreign Church and a foreign enemy. Who could tell whether James's grandchildren would not be on the side of that foreign Church and of that foreign enemy? It was no mere question of this theology or that theology. It was the whole framework of life, present and to come, which was threatened. The Spanish marriage treaty, it may fairly be said, threw back the cause of toleration for half a

century. It awoke again the old Protestant resistance, and gave new life to Puritanism. James had drawn nearer to Spain, but had opened a gap between himself and England.

At Madrid Charles promised all that his father had promised, and a little more. He hoped that his compliance would extract permission for the Infanta to accompany him. But it could not be. The theologians were resolute to the contrary, and their decision was final. Charles learned, too, how little hope there was of recovering the Palatinate. In high dudgeon he left Madrid. As he was travelling, he was asked by a Spaniard who was accompanying him whether he wished the carriage to be opened. 'I should not dare,' he replied ironically, 'to give my assent without sending post to Madrid to consult the theologians.' At Santander he found an English fleet awaiting him. On board he felt himself free at last. He landed at Portsmouth with a resolute determination never to marry the Infanta.

§ 11. Charles's return.

CHAPTER III.

THE ASCENDANCY OF BUCKINGHAM.

SECTION I.—*The last Parliament of James I.*

WITH Buckingham and Charles exasperated against Spain, it would have been hard for James, under any circumstances, to remain on friendly terms with that nation. But even if the influence of his son and his favourite had been removed, he could hardly have gone on much longer in his old course.

§ 1. James compelled to break with Spain.

It was quite plain that Spain would not help him to regain the Palatinate with the sword, and it was also quite plain that without the sword he was not likely to regain the Palatinate at all. He hesitated, doubted, changed his mind from day to day; but unless he meant to give up his daughter and her children, there was nothing for it but to prepare for war.

Parliament was accordingly summoned. It met on February 19, 1624. Lashed to anger against Spain by the events of the past years, the Commons were ready to join in Buckingham's vociferous cry for war. But the attempt of the King of Spain to make his daughter Queen of England exasperated them more than his attempt to place his ally in possession of Heidelberg. The very fact that the Spanish marriage treaty was at an end made them somewhat cooler about the Palatinate. No doubt they still cared about the fortunes of the German Protestants, but they no longer felt that their own fortunes were so directly involved in the ruin of their neighbours. Nor were they well acquainted with German affairs, and when the king talked to them of the great expense of the war, they fancied that he was leading them into unnecessary and extravagant operations. Though they voted only just enough money to strengthen the defences of England and Ireland, to set out a fleet, and to send help to the Dutch in their struggle against Spain, they were not ready to engage in war in Germany without further information.

A.D. 1624. § 2. Feelings of the new Parliament.

James knew that nothing but a great Continental alliance would win back the Palatinate. But he did not like to give up his plan of working together with some Catholic power. If he could not marry his son to the sister of the King of Spain, he would marry him to the sister of the King of France.

§ 3. The king's ideas.

England and France combined would settle the affairs of Germany.

§ 4. Declaration of war postponed.

The plan did not please the Commons. They did not wish to have a Roman Catholic queen at all. They were afraid that the marriage treaty would contain some fresh promise of toleration for the English Catholics. But Charles and James solemnly declared that they would make no such promise. James accepted the supplies which had been already voted, on the understanding that the Houses were to meet again in the winter to vote more if it was needed. The king would have time to send ambassadors about Europe to see who would help him before he made any further demand upon the Commons.

§ 5. Fall of Middlesex.

In the meantime work was found for Parliament. Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex, was Lord High Treasurer. He had done more than any other man to rescue the finances from disorder. He was a careful guardian of the public purse. But he disliked war with Spain because it would be expensive, and had done his best to keep the king's mind in a peaceable mood. Such conduct drew down upon him the displeasure of Buckingham and the Prince, as well as the displeasure of the House of Commons. It was easy to find an excuse for attacking him. In providing for the king's necessities he had not forgotten to heap up a fortune for himself. The Commons impeached him for corruption, Buckingham and Charles hounding them on. Middlesex was stripped of his office and heavily fined. The shrewd old king warned his favourite and his son of the danger they were incurring by encouraging such attacks upon ministers of the crown. 'You will live,' he said, 'to have your bellyful of impeachments.'

The French were not so easily won as the English

government supposed. Lewis XIII. hated Spain and the Emperor, and was ready to encourage anybody who proposed to fight against his enemies. But he was a devoted Catholic, and had no idea of giving his sister in marriage unless something were done for the English Catholics. Buckingham, eager for war, young and sanguine as he was, fancied that it was worth while for the king to break his promise to secure the help of France. Buckingham persuaded Charles, and Charles persuaded his father. The treaty was signed by the end of the year. The Princess Henrietta Maria was to be Queen of England.

§ 6. The French alliance.

Buckingham dared not suffer James to meet Parliament to vote money for the war, when Parliament was sure to upbraid the king with breach of promise. But neither could he give up his military designs. Money was promised freely in all directions. There was to be money for the Dutch Republic, money for the King of Denmark, money for an English fleet to sail against Spain, money for a joint expedition to be undertaken by France and England for the recovery of the Palatinate.

§ 7. Preparations for war.

The joint expedition was entrusted to Mansfeld. But the moment it was proposed to send him into Germany the French began to raise objections. They wanted the men to be used for purposes of their own, and insisted that Mansfeld should go, at least at first, to help the Dutch in their struggle with Spain.

§ 8. Mansfeld's expedition.

Twelve thousand Englishmen, torn from their homes by the king's command, were entrusted to Mansfeld They gathered at Dover and passed over into Holland. James managed to give them a little money to begin with. But without a Parliament to vote supplies, he soon came to the bottom

A.D. 1625. § 9. Its failure.

of his treasury. The men arrived in Holland without provisions and without money to buy any. Frost set in, and disease broke out. In a few weeks nine thousand out of the whole number were counted amongst the dead or dying.

§ 10. Buckingham's schemes.

Such was Buckingham's first experience of making war without national support. In spite of all he pushed blindly on. New schemes of fighting filled his imagination, each one in succession more extensive and more costly than the last.

March 27. § 11. Death of James.

Before any fresh disaster occurred, James died. With hesitation and reluctance he had followed Buckingham in almost everything that he proposed. The new king was ready to follow him without either hesitation or reluctance.

Section II.—*The first Parliament of Charles I.*

§ 1. Charles and his father.

In many respects Charles was the opposite of his father. He was stately and dignified, fond of outward form and ceremony. In dealing with the world James was apt to leave much to chance, believing that things would come right in the end if he left them alone. Charles had no such belief. If he thought that things ought to be done in a certain way, he could not endure that they should be done in any other way. But he had neither the energy nor the capacity required for the wise conduct of affairs, and he lived too much in a world of his own ideas to influence men whose thoughts he was unable to comprehend. In early life at least this confidence in his own judgment was accompanied by shyness. He did not like to be opposed, and fell back upon silence. Hence doubtless his attachment to Buckingham. Buckingham's fault was the very opposite to shyness. He took up Charles's notions and

translated them into action before Charles knew what he was about. Charles wanted to get back the Palatinate for his sister, but he did not know how to do it. Before he could solve the riddle for himself, Buckingham had engaged him in half a dozen plans for getting what he wanted. He clung to his favourite as a dumb man clings to him who understands his signs and interprets them to the bystanders.

§ 2. Charles's first Parliament.

As soon as the new queen was safely in England and it was too late to forbid the banns, Parliament was summoned. Money was sorely needed. But how was Charles to ask for it? The last Parliament had separated on the understanding that it should meet again in the winter to arrange for the further prosecution of the war, and that no concessions should be made to the English Catholics. The Parliament which now met found that war had been undertaken without asking its advice, and that it had resulted in a terrible disaster. Though the concessions to the Catholics had been kept secret, it was shrewdly suspected that Charles had broken his promises. Charles accordingly simply asked for money to support the war, without naming any sum in particular. The Commons, after petitioning him to execute the laws against the Catholics, voted him a small sum of 140,000*l.* His engagements could not be covered by 1,000,000*l.*

§ 3. The opposition of the Commons.

That the opposition of the Commons should have taken such a form is remarkable. It may be that they cared less for the war now that they were well rid of Spanish influence over the English government. But it was not their fault if they were fairly puzzled. They had not been told how much money was wanted or why it was wanted. All they knew was that the one expedition which had actually

been sent out had ended in an utter failure, and that no excuse or explanation had been offered. They had no confidence in Buckingham, and when the king at last sent a message explaining for what purposes he wanted the money, they doubted the sincerity of all that was said to them. They declined to give a farthing more.

§ 4. Adjournment to Oxford.

The king could not understand the meaning of conduct so strange. He ordered the Houses to meet again at Oxford, and directed his ministers to give all necessary explanations. The Commons replied by expressing complete want of confidence in Buckingham. If they could be sure that the money would be spent under advice better than his they would give it, but not otherwise.

§ 5. The king can get no money.

Charles had made so many promises that he could not keep them all. He had promised the King of France that he would not persecute the Catholics. He had promised his own Parliament that he would not tolerate them. He now made up his mind to do as his own subjects wished. But the Commons were not to be led astray. They believed that they might as well throw money into the sea as entrust it to Buckingham, and they let Charles know as much.

§ 6. Dissolution of Parliament.

Charles felt instinctively that to abandon Buckingham was to put himself under the tutelage of the Commons. If they were to settle who were to be the ministers of the crown, they would be able to control ministers, who could only keep their places at the good pleasure of Parliament. The two Houses would thus become practically the sovereigns of England. Rather than submit to this Charles dissolved the Parliament.

He hoped to be able before many months were past

to meet a new Parliament with all the prestige of a great victory. All the money on which he could lay his hands was spent in fitting out a fleet with a large land force on board. Sir Edward Cecil, who commanded it, was ordered to take some Spanish town, and then to lie in wait for the fleet which annually brought to Spain the produce of the mines of America. To the end of his life it was always Charles's mistake to fancy that if he brought together a large fleet or a numerous army he might do anything he liked.

§ 7. The fleet for Cadiz.

It could not be so. The greater part of the fleet was made up of merchant vessels pressed into the king's service with their crews. The landsmen had been torn from their homes by force. A few officers in the king's service wished to succeed. But the greater part of the force only cared to escape with a whole skin. When Cecil sailed into Cadiz Bay and ordered an attack upon a fort which defended the harbour, the chief efforts of the masters of the pressed vessels were directed to keeping out of the way of the shot. If there was a want of devotion in the lower ranks there was a want of intelligence in the officers. When the fort at last surrendered, Cecil led his men away from the town many miles in pursuit of an imaginary enemy. He took no provisions with him, and after a long march on a hot summer's day the men were starving. Then he allowed them to drink wine, and as it turned out that there was plenty of wine to be had, the whole army, with the exception of a handful of officers, soon became helplessly drunk. A Spanish detachment might have slaughtered them all. When Cecil marched back the next day there was nothing to be done. Cadiz was too strong to be taken. Putting to sea, he began to look out for the treasure ships. But the treasure ships sailed into Cadiz Bay two

§ 8. The fleet in Cadiz Bay.

days after Cecil left it, and after keeping watch in vain off the coast of Portugal, the English vessels hurried home with tattered sails and starving crews. Charles would not be able to appear before Parliament in the guise of a conqueror.

§ 9. Buckingham in Holland.

Whilst Cecil was at Cadiz, Buckingham had gone to Holland to raise up a great confederacy against Spain and the allies of Spain. He had promised 30,000*l.* a month to the King of Denmark, and if Cecil had returned victorious he would probably have found little difficulty in persuading the Commons to grant the supplies he needed. But Cecil had done nothing, and there was little hope that a second Parliament would prove more compliant than the first.

Section III.—*The Impeachment of Buckingham, and the Expedition to Rhé.*

§ 1. The ships lent to the French.

Charles's position was the more dangerous as he was on the brink of a contest with France. Lewis XIII. had taken umbrage at Charles's renewed persecution of the English Catholics in defiance of his promises, and Charles had been insensibly drawn on to interfere in the internal affairs of France. Before James died the Protestants of Rochelle had revolted against the French king, and James had hastily consented to lend an English squadron to assist Lewis to put down rebellion. In the spring of 1625 Charles and Buckingham wished to draw back, and, not daring openly to break their engagements, sent secret orders to the commander of the fleet to get up a mutiny on board his own ships, that they might be brought back to England apparently against the wish of the king. The plan succeeded for a time. But news arrived that Lewis and his subjects were at peace, and Charles fancied that he might curry favour with him by sending the ships now that they would be of no real service. The news of

peace turned out to be untrue, and Lewis kept Charles's ships without owing him any thanks, whilst Englishmen who knew nothing of all these manœuvres blamed Charles for lending the ships at all, to be used against Protestants abroad.

Other causes of dissatisfaction arose. Charles held that French ships had no right to carry the goods of his enemies the Spaniards, seized the vessels and sold the goods. Even Charles's efforts to avert a breach were imprudent. In order that he might obtain the co-operation of France in the German war, he mediated a peace between Lewis and his subjects, and made himself morally responsible for the execution of its conditions, a responsibility which was sure to lead him sooner or later to give offence to Lewis.

A.D. 1626. § 2. Further disputes.

When Parliament met, many of the leaders of the last session were absent. Charles had been clever enough to make them sheriffs, and as sheriffs were wanted in their own counties, they could not be at Westminster at the same time. His cleverness about the sheriffs met with as little success as his cleverness about the ships. The House found in Sir John Eliot a leader even abler and far more vehement than those who had been kept away.

§ 3. Meeting of Parliament.

Eliot had already made himself a name as the first orator of the day. But he had not cared to lift up his voice much in the last Parliament. Personally attached to Buckingham, he had been loth to admit the conviction to his mind that Buckingham was an incumbrance to his country. That thought once admitted, there were no bounds to Eliot's abhorrence. He loved England with all the passionate enthusiasm which Pericles felt for Athens, and he trusted in the House of Commons as no man ever trusted before or since. It was for him in a very real sense the collective wisdom of the nation. Kings and rulers had but

§ 4. Sir John Eliot.

to consult the House of Commons, and they would find wisdom there. With this confidence in men whom he knew to be in earnest was joined a faith in all pure and noble deeds, and a contemptuous abhorrence of all things mean and base. In the follies of the splendid favourite he saw greed and selfishness, as well as deliberate treason to his beloved country.

What wonder if Eliot called for inquiry into the mismanagement which had led to so many disasters by sea and land. What wonder if he traced the cause of all evil to the traitorous wickedness of Buckingham. Before long the Commons impeached the minister. The tale of crime, real and imaginary, was unrolled in the ears of men, and the Lords were called upon to visit with the severest penalties the man who had made himself all-powerful in order that he might ruin the state for selfish ends.

§ 5. Buckingham's impeachment.

Charles was deeply vexed. One day he heard that Eliot had branded Buckingham as Sejanus. 'If he is Sejanus,' he muttered, 'I must be Tiberius.' If the Commons exaggerated the worst traits of Buckingham's character, Charles dwelt exclusively on his better qualities, his frank and open bearing, his undaunted courage, his devotion to his master's interests. Rather than abandon his minister he dissolved Parliament before it had voted a single sixpence.

§ 5. Dissolution of Parliament.

Charles's first hope was that the nation would give him what the Commons had refused. A demand for a free gift to support the war was made in every county. But with few exceptions the inhabitants of the counties turned a deaf ear to the demand.

§ 7. The free gift.

Some one suggested that if men could not be forced to give money to the king, they had often been made to

lend. The King of Denmark suffered a grievous defeat at Lutter, mainly from want of the succours which Charles had promised him. In order that help might be sent him, Charles ordered the collection of a forced loan.

§ 8. The forced loan.

Before the money came in it was evident that but little of it would be spent in sending aid to the King of Denmark. The ill-feeling between France and England was increasing. Lewis, now under the guidance of Richelieu, the great French statesman of the age, had made peace with his Protestant subjects in the hope that Charles would enter into active operations in Germany. Charles, who had no money to employ in fighting, haggled over the terms of the alliance, and put himself ostentatiously forward as the protector of the French Protestants. Lewis, who dared not embark in a war in Germany if there was a chance of Charles's coming to the assistance of any of his subjects who might choose to revolt, prepared to lay siege to the great Protestant seaport of Rochelle, which was entirely independent of his authority. Charles felt himself in honour bound to come to its defence.

§ 9. Dispute between France and England.

Other causes of dispute were not wanting. The French attendants of the queen taught her to regard herself as injured because Charles had broken his promises in favour of the English Catholics. He could not, he said, count his wife his own as long as they were there, and, without thought of the engagements which pledged him to keep the queen's household as it was, he drove her attendants out of England.

§ 10. The dismissal of the French household.

The natural result was war between France and England. The forced loan was driven on to supply the means. Chief Justice Crewe, refusing to acknowledge its legality, was dismissed. Poor men who refused to pay were sent as

A.D. 1627. § 11. War with France

soldiers into foreign service. Rich men were summoned before the council and committed to prison. By these harsh measures a considerable sum was scraped together. A handful of men was despatched to help the King of Denmark in Germany, and a stately fleet of a hundred sail, carrying a large force on board, was prepared to go under Buckingham's command to the relief of Rochelle.

§ 12. The expedition to Rhé.

On July 12 the English troops, after a sharp contest with the enemy, landed on the Isle of Rhé, which, if it came into Buckingham's hands, would be an admirable point of vantage for the defence of the neighbouring Rochelle. On July 17 Buckingham commenced the siege of St. Martin's, its principal fortress. The ground was rocky, and the siege was soon converted into a blockade. On September 27 the garrison had but three days' provisions left, and opened negotiations for a surrender. In the night thirty-five boats, favoured by a stiff breeze, dashed through the English blockading squadron, and revictualled the place. The besieged had respite for two months longer.

§ 13. The retreat.

If reinforcements could reach Buckingham to enable him to keep up the numbers which were thinned by disease, all might yet go well. Charles at home urged his ministers to the uttermost. But money and men were hard to find. Buckingham's rise had been too sudden, and his monopoly of the king's favour too complete, to give him much chance of a favourable judgment from the higher classes, and now no man who was not a creature of the court trusted Buckingham any longer. Before the reinforcements could reach him the end had come. A French force had landed on the island, and Buckingham, after one hopeless attempt to storm the fort, gave orders for a retreat. Mismanagement completed the ruin which an evil policy had begun.

The French fell upon the invaders as they struggled to regain their ships, and of 6,800 English troops less than 3,000, worn with hunger and sickness, were landed in England.

SECTION IV.—*The Petition of Right and the Assassination of Buckingham.*

A.D. 1627. November. § 1. Unpopularity of Buckingham.

After the failure at Rhé Buckingham's unpopularity reached its highest pitch. 'Since England was England,' we find in a letter of the time, 'it received not so dishonourable a blow.' The fault that had occurred was laid upon Buckingham.

§ 2. *Habeas corpus* demanded.

Five of the prisoners who were suffering for their refusal to pay the loan were inspirited to appeal to the Judges for a writ of *habeas corpus*, which would enable them to be fairly tried upon any charge which the king had to bring against them. But the king had named no charge, and the Judges were of opinion that within some undefined limits it was for the king to decide whether prisoners should be tried or not.

A.D. 1628. § 3. Charles's third Parliament.

Neither Buckingham nor Charles had any thought of stopping the war. A fleet was got ready under Buckingham's brother-in-law, the Earl of Denbigh, to carry provisions to Rochelle, which was now besieged by the French, and a Parliament was summoned to grant supplies for the payment of the fleet.

§ 4. Sir Thomas Wentworth.

The leader who gave the tone to the opening debates was Sir Thomas Wentworth. Sprung from a wealthy and ancient house in Yorkshire, he was inspired by a lofty consciousness of his own consummate abilities as a speaker and a statesman. In every point he was the very opposite of Eliot. He disbe-

lieved entirely in the wisdom of the House of Commons, and thought it very unlikely that a large and heterogeneous body could ever undertake the government of a great kingdom with advantage. Holding that important reforms and wise government were absolutely necessary for the well-being of England, and knowing that such a rule as he wished to see could only be evolved from the intellect of the few, he was apt to forget that without the support of the many, the few who were wise would be unable to get their wishes carried out, and that even if they succeeded for a time, it would only be by crushing that life and vigour in the body of the nation out of which alone any permanent order could be evolved.

§ 5. Compared with Eliot.

The contrast between Eliot and Wentworth, in short, may be best illustrated by an imaginary conflict between the heart and the brain to be considered the chief organs of the human body. Eliot was for the heart, Wentworth for the brain. Eliot was right in saying that government could not be carried on except in agreement with the representatives of the nation. Wentworth was right in saying that it could not be carried on except by men possessing qualities above those of the average member of the House of Commons.

§ 6. Both opposed to Buckingham.

Around this conflict of opinion the course of the coming revolution, so far at least as it was a political revolution, was to turn. For the present, the two great men could work together. The rule of Buckingham was detestable, both to the intellect and to the feeling of the nation. Wentworth and Eliot could join in putting a stop to that.

§ 7. The Petition of Right.

After much discussion, a Petition of Right, that is to say, a declaration that certain rights of the nation which had been violated must be acknowledged for the future, was presented to the king. To some of its demands Charles raised no ob-

jection. He was ready to promise never again to raise a forced loan, or to compel householders to receive soldiers against their will, or to give a commission to military officers to execute martial law in time of peace. But he shrunk from promising that he would never send anyone to prison without showing the cause for which he had done so. The concession, in fact, was of the utmost importance. Whatever the law may have been, the king had been in the habit of sending men to prison when he thought fit, and had sometimes left them there untried. If a cause was shown, the Judges could at once be appealed to by the prisoner to appoint a day for the trial, that it might be known whether the charge was true or not. The final decision on state offences would then be in the hands of a judicial court, and not in the hands of the king.

Charles struggled long against this conclusion. But he needed money. Denbigh had come back from Rochelle, having completely failed to carry in the provisions with which he was charged. A more powerful fleet must be fitted out. Yet, unless Charles assented to the Petition, the Commons would grant no supplies. He tried hard to get over the difficulty by an evasive answer. The Commons stood firm, and on June 7 the great Petition became the law of the land.

§ 8. Royal assent to it.

The Petition of Right is memorable as the first Act which circumscribed the exuberant powers which the Tudors had bequeathed to the Stuarts. But it was but the beginning of a great change. It decided that every prisoner should have a trial before the Judges, if he asked for it; but it took no precautions that the trial should be a fair one. Unless a capital offence had been committed the case might be brought before the Star Chamber, or the High Commission, both of them under the immediate influence of the

§ 9. Further changes needed.

king, and punishing without the intervention of a jury. Even the ordinary Judges were much under the king's control. They were appointed to their places by him, and they might be dismissed by him. Without being consciously hypocritical, they were likely to take the same view of things which was taken at court. The alteration made by the petition could not be fully felt till the Judges became independent of the crown, as they did after the Revolution of 1688.

§ 10. Prorogation.

It was not in this direction that the Commons immediately turned their attention. They wanted many things to be changed in Church and State. Above all, they wanted to be rid of Buckingham. Sooner than listen to the language which was uttered, Charles, having by this time got the money he needed, prorogued the Houses. Buckingham was to command the fleet which was going once more to Rochelle, and if Buckingham won a victory, the Commons would, perhaps, not take so harsh a view of his character when they reassembled.

§ 11. Buckingham at Portsmouth.

In August Buckingham was at Portsmouth, making ready for embarkation. He knew how widely dissatisfaction at his conduct had kindled into bitter hatred to his person. But for assassination he was not prepared. A friend had begged him to wear a shirt of mail beneath his clothes. 'A shirt of mail,' he answered, 'would be but a silly defence against any popular fury. As for a single man's assault, I take myself to be in no danger. There are no Roman spirits left.' He little knew that one gloomy fanatic was dogging his steps. John Felton had served as an officer in the expedition to Rhé. He had been refused promotion, and when he returned, he was left, as most men in the king's service were, with his salary unpaid. In his misery, he caught eagerly at the tales of which the air

was full, and fed his mind upon a declaration, proceeding from the Commons, that the Duke was a public enemy He bought a knife, in order, as he said, to avenge himself, his country, and his God.

On the morning of August 23, Felton stationed himself at the entrance of the room in which Buckingham was breakfasting. As the Duke stepped out, the murderer struck him heavily in the breast, saying, 'God have mercy upon thy soul!' as he dealt the blow. The man who till now had been the ruler of England fell dead to the ground. His wife, warned that something terrible had happened, rushed out with shrieks of agony in her night-dress from her bedroom into a gallery which overlooked the scene.

§ 12. Murder of Buckingham.

Felton was seized, and after due trial met the fate which he deserved. The fleet was sent out under another commander. But there was no heart in the sailors, no resolution in the commanders. England was weary of the war which had been entered on so recklessly and conducted with so little capacity. Rochelle surrendered to the French government. Charles was left alone to bear the weight of unpopularity which failure had caused.

§ 13. Surrender of Rochelle.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PERSONAL GOVERNMENT OF CHARLES I.

SECTION I.—*Taxation and Religion.*

THE feeling of antagonism which had sprung up between Charles and the Commons boded ill for the re-establishment of a good understanding between them, even after the immediate stone of offence had been removed by Buckingham's death. One point of extreme delicacy had been touched during the

A.D. 1628 § 1. Tonnage and poundage.

final debates of the last session. For many reigns the habitual practice of the Commons had been to vote to each king, for life, at the beginning of his reign, certain duties on exports and imports, known as tonnage and poundage. Partly through the desire of the Commons to obtain a settlement in their favour of the vexed question of the impositions, partly through the interruption caused by their dispute with the crown, tonnage and poundage had not yet been voted when Parliament was prorogued in June 1628. At the last moment the House had prepared a remonstrance stating that the levy of these duties without its consent had been made illegal by the Petition of Right, a statement which an impartial tribunal would fail to justify by the wording of the Petition; whilst Charles fell back upon the decision of the Judges in the case of the impositions in his father's reign, which gave him the weight of their authority in levying any customs duties he pleased.

Almost immediately after the prorogation some London merchants refused to pay the duties on their goods. These goods were at once seized. The Court of Exchequer decided that the question of legality must be argued before it, and that in the meanwhile the goods were to remain in the king's storehouses. But the government was not anxious to rest upon legal arguments. Charles made up his mind to waive for the present his claim under the former judgment in the case of impositions, and to hope that in the next session he might come to an understanding with the Commons which would remove all difficulties.

§ 2. The question referred to Parliament.

Whatever the legal merits of the case may have been, the question of tonnage and poundage was the question of the sovereignty of England. Charles could not govern the country without this money, and if the claim of the Commons was ad-

§ 3. Importance of the question.

mitted, they might demand anything they liked as the price of their grant. The Commons would become supreme, and the king would have to surrender all those special powers which had been bequeathed to him by the Tudors.

§ 4. Religious difficulties. Strong Protestantism of the Commons.

Men seldom fight for power unless they have some special use to which they wish to put it. It is therefore improbable that, unless the Commons had had some important object in view, there would have been much difficulty in coming to an arrangement. Unhappily there was still a cause of division which was likely to give as much trouble as had been given by the revolt of the nation against the administrative blunders of Buckingham. The fear of danger to Protestantism from the engagements of James with Spain, and from the engagements of Charles with France, had produced its effect upon the temper of the upper classes of the nation which were mainly represented in the House of Commons. Puritanism in the sense of a rejection of the Prayer Book as a whole, or of a general disposition to change the existing ecclesiastical arrangements, had no existence except with a very small minority. There was, however, a general disposition to lay stress upon the special Calvinistic doctrine on the subject of predestination, which most Englishmen of that generation had been brought up to believe, and to regard any deviation from it as a surrender to the Papal Church. Every year the fear of papal aggression grew stronger. On the Continent the Catholic powers had been winning their way to a supremacy of which there had been no example since the great victories of the Reformation. In 1622 the Palatinate had been lost to Protestantism. In 1626 the Danish resistance had been broken at Lutter, and now the whole of North Germany, with the exception of two or three seaport towns, lay helpless at the feet of Wallenstein and Tilly. In France Rochelle had

succumbed to Richelieu, and men could hardly believe as yet that the statesmanship of the Cardinal was in earnest in granting liberty of religion to the conquered.

§ 5. Partial reaction against Calvinism.

Whilst the mass of thinking men was thus lashed into indignation against anything which savoured of faithlessness to Protestantism, there was a small but growing minority amongst the clergy which cared very little for the tyranny of the Emperor and the Pope in Germany, and very much for the tyranny of the dominant Calvinists at home. They questioned the received theology in scornful terms. In 1625 the Commons took up the challenge by summoning to their bar Richard Montague, who had written a book denying the popular doctrine to be the doctrine of the Church of England. In 1626 they impeached him as a disturber of the peace of the church and commonwealth. Unity of belief was to be the corner-stone of national unity. No opinions at variance with those which had prevailed in the last generation were to be promulgated in England, if the Commons could have their way.

6. Clerical appointments.

The zeal of the Commons for unity of belief was not merely theological. Montague and those who agreed with him had thrown themselves into the arms of the king. In 1627 they were foremost in urging the duty of paying the forced loan, and one of their number, Roger Manwaring, preached sermons which spoke of parliaments as mere cyphers in the state. Charles, in his irritation against the Commons, showed favour to the men who had stood by him in his difficulties. Immediately after the prorogation in 1628 he made Montague a bishop, and gave a good living to Manwaring. Men who held opinions thus widely distasteful were, it seemed, to use the position which they owed to the favour of their sovereign in order to inculcate doctrines of arbitrary power in the State, as well as

to be set to govern the Church, and to treat with derision the belief of masses of earnest men.

Before the end of the year Charles, with the assent of the bishops, promulgated a form of agreement which he undoubtedly intended to be conciliatory. The king's declaration, which is to this day prefixed to the Articles in the Common Prayer Book, is the key to Charles's ecclesiastical policy. It was his duty, he asserted, not to suffer unnecessary questions to be raised, which might nourish faction both in the church and commonwealth. The Articles were therefore to be taken in their literal sense, and no one was hereafter to venture to put his own sense or comment on their meaning. Men were, in short, to hold their tongues on the controversy of the day. Such a settlement was undoubtedly better than the refusal of all liberty of speech which the Commons wished to establish, because it avoided the infliction of any penalty upon opinion. But it was necessarily a settlement which would be one-sided in operation. To the Calvinist the doctrine of predestination was part of his creed which could not be buried in silence without hazarding the rest. His opponent simply held that it was a question which no one could possibly understand, and which therefore ought not to be discussed in the pulpit.

§ 7. The king's declaration.

Section II.

The Breach between the King and the Commons.

When the Commons met, they first turned their attention to the question of tonnage and poundage. On the one hand they waived their appeal to the Petition of Right. On the other nand the king waived his claim to demand payment under the judgment in the case of impositions. He

A.D. 1629. § 1. Meeting of the Houses.

asked them to vote him the duties and leave the question of legality unsettled.

§ 2. Rolle's privilege.

Unluckily, this question, difficult in itself, was complicated by another. Rolle, one of the merchants whose goods had been seized, was a member of the House of Commons, and the Commons argued that whatever might have been done to the other merchants, the custom-house officers had no right to touch the property of a member of their House. The whole subject was, however, postponed till the state of religion had been taken into consideration.

§ 3. Religious innovations.

The vehemence of the Commons rose at once to fever pitch. New ideas had been broached, new ceremonies introduced. It would have been hard enough for them to swallow the notion that all men could not believe the popular doctrine of predestination. But it seemed intolerable that clergymen should be found to speak of priests and altars. In Durham cathedral especially, there had been great changes, and the services had been made very much what they are in cathedrals at the present day. Parts of the service were sung which had not been sung before, and the communion table, which had formerly stood at the north door, and had been moved into the middle of the choir when required for the communion, had been permanently fixed at the east end of the chancel.

§ 4. Position of the Commons.

The Commons flung themselves first upon the doctrinal difference. They declared that their interpretation of the Articles was true, and that every other interpretation was false. They could not endure to hear that the belief of the nation was to be settled by the clergy apart from the laity. Then they proceeded to deal with the ceremonial changes. They summoned the authors of these innovations to answer as culprits at the bar.

Before the delinquents could arrive in London some

time must elapse, and the House turned back to the question of tonnage and poundage. They applied themselves to it with minds inflamed by the ecclesiastical debates. To give the king these duties was, as they believed, to place means in his hands to lay the English Church captive at the feet of the Pope. And yet it was difficult to meet the king on any broad ground. Charles was strong in his reference to the Judges, and though it might be a political necessity that the House of Commons should set aside a doctrine maintained by the Judges, it involved a breach of constitutional arrangements which would completely alter the balance of power in the state. It seemed easier to make their attack upon the point of privilege, and they summoned the custom-house officers who had seized Rolle's goods to answer for their insolence.

§ 5. Privilege again.

So far, under Eliot's leadership, the House had gone. Yet this particular claim to privilege, whether technically right or not, was outrageous. Rolle's goods had been seized when Parliament was not sitting. The House of Commons was not thereby deprived of his services for an instant, and if special aid was to be given to Rolle, it would follow that means might be found to enable a merchant who was a member of the House to escape payment when nothing could be done for another merchant who was in a less fortunate position. Of all members in the House there was none, not even Eliot, whose patriotism was under less suspicion than John Pym. In opposition to the ecclesiastical policy of the government he went as far as any man, and he had taken his full share in the discussions which led to the Petition of Right. Yet now he distinctly refused to follow Eliot. 'The liberties of this House,' he said, 'are inferior to the liberties of this kingdom. To determine the privileges of this House is but a mean matter, and the

§ 6. Eliot and Pym.

main end is to establish possession of the subjects.' Pym's advice, in short, was to meet the difficulty in the face, to claim for all men the right of refusing to pay the duty till it had been voted by Parliament.

Pym's advice had the merit of founding the inevitable quarrel on broad grounds in which all men were equally concerned. The House chose to follow Eliot. Charles refused to allow his officers to be called to the bar. They had but obeyed his orders, and they must not suffer for their obedience. He commanded an adjournment of the House to March 2, and entered into private negotiations with the leading members, in the hope that means of escaping the difficulty might yet be discovered.

March 2. § 7. Adjournment of the House.

The negotiations came to nothing, and on the appointed day the Commons met, only to receive a fresh order for adjournment. There were those amongst them who, believing that a dissolution was imminent, determined to make a declaration which should serve as an appeal to the people. As the Speaker was preparing to leave the chair, two members, Holles and Valentine, stepped rapidly forward, and held him down by force, whilst Eliot stood up to put to the vote a motion which he had drawn up in concert with his friends. Amidst tumult and confusion, the stormy debate, if debate it can be called, proceeded. A rush was made to set the Speaker free. Another rush was made to keep him in durance. The doors were locked, and one of the members put the key in his pocket. When order was at last restored, and Eliot proposed to put his resolutions to the vote, neither Speaker nor clerk would take the responsibility of reading them. At last, just as the king was approaching the door with an armed force, Holles, who had a copy of the resolutions in his pocket, read them amidst shouts of assent.

§ 8. Tumult in the House.

The resolutions were plain enough to be understood of all men. Whoever brought in innovations in religion, or introduced opinions disagreeing from those of the true and orthodox Church; whoever advised the levy of tonnage and poundage without a grant from Parliament; whoever voluntarily paid those duties; was to be counted an enemy to the kingdom and a betrayer of its liberties.

§ 9. The three resolutions.

As the shouts of Aye, aye, rung out on every side, the doors were flung open, and the members poured forth in a throng. For more than eleven years no Parliament met again in England.

§ 10. The end of the Parliament.

Those who had led the opposition by which Charles's hopes were frustrated were marked out for vengeance. The Petition of Right needed additional buttresses before it could form a barrier against the sovereign's will. Chambers, one of the merchants who had refused payment of the duties, was brought before the Star Chamber for the utterance of a few rash words in contempt of the privy council, and was sentenced to a fine of 2,000*l.*, and to an imprisonment which lasted for many years. Eliot, with those who had supported him on the day of the adjournment, was thrown into prison, and brought before the Court of King's Bench. The cause of commitment was signified, and the provisions of the Petition were complied with. But the Petition had omitted to state under what conditions a prisoner ought to be admitted to bail, and Charles, by a mixture of violence and persuasion, procured from the Judges an offer of bail upon terms which the prisoners declined to accept. When the case came on for trial the prisoners were charged with riot and sedition. True to Eliot's principles, they refused to acknowledge that any court had a right to meddle with actions done in Parliament. The Judges acknowledged

§ 11. Punishment of Chambers and Eliot.

that they had no authority to interfere with regular parliamentary proceedings. But the charge was that these members had taken part in a riot and sedition, and the judges held that riot and sedition could never be held to be a parliamentary proceeding. As Eliot and the others still refused to answer, fine and imprisonment were imposed upon them.

Most of Eliot's comrades made their submission one by one, and were allowed again to mingle in the world. Eliot, Valentine, and Strode remained honourably obdurate. Especially Eliot's unbending will never could be broken. Not one word would he speak which could be tortured into an acknowledgment that any power on earth could interfere with the supremacy of Parliament over the words and actions of its members. There was to be one spot on earth which the king's authority could not reach. To claim such an independence was to claim more than independence. If Parliament was not subject to the king, it would soon become his master. That was the issue which before long was to be fought out in England. Eliot was in his generation the first, the greatest champion of the doctrine that Parliament was the controlling power of the constitution, the doctrine which had been in abeyance during the Tudor reigns, but which had been acknowledged fitfully but effectually in earlier days. No doubt there was a difference between the parliamentary supremacy of the fifteenth century and the parliamentary supremacy claimed in the seventeenth. In the mediæval Parliaments the Lords had led and the Commons had followed. Eliot would have had the Commons to lead and the Lords to follow. The Upper House in the days of Charles I. was but a shadow of its former self. It had suffered from the proscriptions of the Tudors; had suffered still

§ 12. Eliot's political views.

more from the numerous and sometimes unworthy creations of the Stuarts. The Lower House had become the main depository of the national dignity and of the national will.

Of the doctrine of parliamentary supremacy Eliot was now to become the martyr. Cooped up in the Tower without air or exercise, his health gave way. From his pitiless gaolers no relaxation was to be hoped. His weakened form and sunken cheek soon gave evidence of the consumption which was wasting his strength within. In December 1632, after an imprisonment of three years and a half, the soul of the patriotic orator passed away. Charles, vindictive to the end, refused him even the privilege of a burial in his Cornish home. 'Let the body of Sir John Eliot,' he answered to a request from the dead man's children, 'be buried in the place where he died.'

A.D. 1632. § 13. Death of Eliot.

Section III.

The Beginnings of Absolute Government.

If Charles had been asked whether he intended to tread the law and constitution under foot, he would have shrunk back with horror at the thought. He would have replied that he was in truth the supporter of the law. Always, in theory, and, since the accession of the House of Tudor, in practice as well, Parliament had been but the great council of the king. The king had been the centre of government, the acting power round which all else revolved. What the Commons now demanded was to take his place, to keep him short of money till he would comply with their wishes, and to render him powerless by calling his ministers to account when they did what the Commons considered to be illegal. Not only the

§ 1. Constitutional position of the Commons.

authority of the king but the decision of the Judges was to be swept aside. And all this was to be done in order that freedom of thought, except so far as it found favour in the eyes of the dominant majority, might be stamped out in England: that no one might print a book or preach a sermon without the leave of the House of Commons.

§ 2. Charles's position.

Charles was not wrong in dissolving such a Parliament. It had done its work in preparing the great Petition; and if Charles could have rallied England round him by a wiser policy than he was, unfortunately, capable of conceiving, he might well have waited a few years for its ratification by another Parliament. Unluckily, he was incapable of taking such a step. He did not know that there was truth in the midst of his opponents' errors. He did not know that his own policy was liable to the gravest exception. Above all, he did not know that, even if he were possessed of all wisdom, he could not govern permanently without the goodwill of that nation which Parliament represented. He did not acknowledge to himself that he meant to rule permanently without Parliament. But he ordered that no man should petition him to summon another, and as years rolled on his mind grew more and more accustomed to think of Parliament as a mere excrescence on the constitution, and of the public opinion on which it rested as a wild beast to be kept down. He fancied that he was copying his Tudor predecessors. In reality he was most false to the great principles of Henry and Elizabeth. The lonely silent man, keeping at a distance all who were not of the immediate circle of his privileged attendants could never play the part of the frank and hearty sovereigns who had courted popularity as the very life-blood of their government.

A time must have come when the supremacy of public

opinion which had been tacitly recognised by Henry VIII. and Elizabeth would exercise an avowed control through the House of Commons as the representative body of the nation. It is easy to see that the blunders of Charles's reign had done much to hasten the change. But it is certain that to transfer supremacy to the House of Commons on the terms on which Eliot wished to transfer it, would have been to establish a gross tyranny. It is notorious that Henry and Elizabeth were always ready to hear advice from all sides. Whatever there was elsewhere, in their council chamber there was liberty of speech. If the House of Commons was to step into their place, there must be liberty of speech outside as well as inside the walls of Parliament. A Parliament stereotyping upon the country a particular form of religious or political belief which happened to be popular at the time would degenerate into the most odious of despotisms. The mouths of the counsellors whose work it is insensibly to change public opinion would be closed. The establishment of Parliamentary supremacy in 1688 was a noble work; but it would not have been a noble work if it had stood alone. It came accompanied by the abolition of the censorship of the press, and by the Toleration Act. A free press and a free pulpit were limitations on the parliamentary despotism as effectual as the tacitly acknowledged right of insurrection had been upon the kingly despotism of the middle ages.

§ 3. Conditions of parliamentary government.

Such ideas are universally accepted in the present day. In the seventeenth century they were but struggling into existence. Charles and his ministers saw the necessity of resisting the ecclesiastical tyranny of the House of Commons. But they fancied they could resist by refurbishing the weapons of old authority, and by establishing a system of equal des-

§ 4. Charles and his ministers.

potism. As far as possible they would act according to law. But if the law failed them they could always fall back on the prerogative, which they interpreted as giving power to the king to provide for the safety of the nation, when he was not expressly forbidden by law to do any special act which he wished to do. As the Judges were appointed and dismissed by the crown; as the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission could fine and imprison at discretion, and as Parliament was not there to complain, Charles was practically absolute in all matters in which he cared to be absolute. But there can be no doubt that he believed his to be a legal government, and that he prided himself particularly on his respect for the law.

§ 5. Three statesmen.

For some years, three statesmen, Weston, Laud, and Wentworth governed England in Charles's name.

§ 6. Weston Lord Treasurer.

Of the three, Weston was of the least importance. As Lord Treasurer his first thought, like the first thought of his predecessor, Middlesex, was for economy. Buckingham's wasteful expenditure had left him a large legacy of debt, and he did all that he could to clear it off. The subsidies voted in 1628 did much, and in 1630 he discovered that all men holding lands worth 40*l.* a year ought to have been knighted at the coronation, if they were not knights already. Fines imposed on hundreds of men who had neglected this duty brought money into the exchequer. The act was unquestionably within the letter of the law, and it received the express sanction of the Court of Exchequer, though it was not likely to increase the popularity of the government. By this and similar contrivances Weston paid off much of the debt, and brought the revenue and expenditure nearly on a leval. He knew well that to save himself from fresh debt he must keep

the king at peace. Peace was made at once with France in 1629; but peace with Spain was not brought about till the end of 1630. The king was greatly distressed at abandoning the cause of his sister, and was every year entering, after the manner of his father, into fresh negotiations for the restitution of the Palatinate. Weston humoured Charles, joined in forwarding the negotiations, and was always ready with some good reason why they should not end in war. For the moral and spiritual interests of Protestantism on the Continent he cared nothing. He was suspected, probably with truth, of being a Roman Catholic at heart. His policy was exclusively devoted to enriching the country. If commerce flourished and men were making money, they would not be likely, he thought, to grumble against the king.

§ 7. Laud Bishop of London.

If Weston was the king's oracle so far as the material wants of the nation were concerned, Laud, now Bishop of London was his spiritual adviser. He had grown up to regard with horror the dogmatism of Calvinism, and he believed that disputes about religious questions were likely to overthrow the commonwealth. He, like his contemporaries, never rose into the conception of liberty of thought as the only possible remedy for the evil which he dreaded. When Eliot cried out for the enforcement of unity of belief, Laud cried out for the enforcement of uniformity of ceremonial. 'I laboured nothing more,' he afterwards said, in defence of his proceedings, 'than that the external public worship of God—too much slighted in most parts of this kingdom—might be preserved, and that with as much decency and uniformity as might be; being still of opinion that unity cannot long continue in the Church, when uniformity is shut out at the church door.' In all the complex varieties of Puritanism the heart of man is addressed through the intellect. Laud addressed it through the eye. External

order and discipline, the authority of existing law and of existing governors, were the tests to which he appealed. Genius he had none, no power of sympathy with characters opposed to his own, no attractive force whatever. Men were to obey for their own good, and to hold their tongues.

§ 8. Wentworth President of the North.

If Laud was greater than Weston, Wentworth was greater than Laud. When the Petition of Right was granted he passed easily and naturally into the king's service as President of the Council of the North, a special tribunal exercising almost unlimited authority beyond the Humber. As long as Buckingham lived, and for a year after his death, he had no place in the general government of England. Only in November 1629, did he enter the privy council. It is easy to see that the events of the session of that year must have exercised a decisive influence on his mind. In the session of 1628 he had taken the lead in resistance to the violent measures which had been called forth by the prosecution of a war which he regarded as impolitic and unwise. But he must have regarded with the utmost detestation the claim of the Commons to force the king to establish an ecclesiastical inquisition into the holding of opinions which he himself shared. If Eliot wished to found authority on public opinion, Wentworth contemned public opinion altogether. Authority must be founded on intellect, not on opinion, and of all living intellects he believed his own to be the first. Nor was it simply to the maintenance of power that he looked. 'Justice without respect of persons,' might have been the motto of his life. Nothing called forth his bitter indignation like the claims of the rich to special consideration or favour. The rule of the House of Commons meant for him—not altogether without truth—the rule of the landowner and the lawyer at the expense of the poor. His entry into the council

was marked by a series of efforts to make life more tolerable for those who were in distress. Justices of the peace were ordered to make a yearly report on the execution of the poor law, to say whether those who had no means of subsistence were relieved, and whether idle vagabonds were punished. The measure was accompanied by many others, not always very wise, but always well intentioned, as far as can now be judged, for the relief of commerce, and for the general improvement of the condition of the population. Where Wentworth failed was in his contempt of popularity, and in his contempt for law as a safeguard of justice. Everything was to be done for the people, nothing by them. They must learn to take the good things which the government chose to send them as they took the rain from heaven. There was to be no strengthening of the consciousness of right in the popular heart; no drawing out of the love and sympathy of the governed. The blessings which the stern, isolated man was longing to spread around him came back to him in curses.

Section IV.—*Ecclesiastical Parties.*

The first five years of unparliamentary government were on the whole years of peace and quiet. There were Star Chamber prosecutions and penalties for those who openly resisted the authority of the king. In 1630 Alexander Leighton, having written a virulent libel upon the bishops, was flogged and mutilated with merciless severity. In 1633 Henry Sherfield was fined for taking the law into his own hands, and breaking a church window which he held to be superstitious. But though the government was undoubtedly unpopular in many quarters, there is no sign of any general bitterness of feeling against it.

A.D. 1630. § 1. Star Chamber sentences.

There was no distinct breach of constitutional forms.

Years were passing away without a Parliament, just as years had passed away in the preceding reign. But no one had said that Parliament was never to meet again. Nor was the bearing of the opposition in the last session such as to secure universal acquiescence. Pym had openly denounced Eliot's course as, at least, ill timed, and many of the foremost men of former sessions had stood aloof from the uproar of the final scene. There was much, too, in the course of foreign affairs to soothe men's minds in England. The peace had restored commercial activity, and merchants who were making money rapidly had no time to agitate against the payment of tonnage and poundage. In 1630 the flood of Roman Catholic aggression was checked in Germany by the landing of Gustavus Adolphus, and good Protestants in England ceased to dread lest they should be faced by a triumphant papal league, mustering its forces from the shores of the Baltic to the Straits of Gibraltar.

§ 2. General submission.

After all, too, the ecclesiastical changes introduced by Laud in these early years of his domination were not so very alarming. His power extended directly only over his own diocese of London, and though he was able to do much elsewhere with the king's aid, his suggestions were often evaded by reluctant or sluggish bishops. Even when he was most vigorous, though words likely to cause alarm frequently escaped his lips, he confined his actual efforts to compelling the observance of the Book of Common Prayer and to putting an end to that evasion of the rules of the Church which had frequently been practised since Abbot's archbishopric had begun. On the whole Puritans submitted with more or less reluctance. Those who refused to do so were deprived of their appointments in the Church.

§ 3. Laud's changes.

Laud did not stand alone in his reverence for the

Prayer Book. The respect for the calm sanctities of a life sustained and nourished by the spirit which breathes in it found its chief expression in George Herbert. Born of a noble house, he had aspired to lead a high and pure religious life, and to employ his talents in the service of the state. His ambition had acted as a disturbing influence on the current of his religious aspirations. His religious aspirations had held him back from devoting himself wholly to statesmanship. At last he recognised his true vocation. As parish priest at Bemerton, a little hamlet near Salisbury, almost under the shadow of the most graceful of English cathedrals, he taught men by his life to reverence whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely and of good report. To Herbert the outward forms of church worship, the repeated prayer, the pealing organ, the painted window, were loved and reverenced as teaching the struggling soul to offer up its own wandering fantasy and to restrain itself within limits appointed by external authority. That which was to sink into his heart must first pass through the eye or the ear. Even the pavement of a church could be made to read a lesson to him who stepped upon it.

§ 4. George Herbert.

> Mark you the floor? That square and speckled stone,
> Which looks so firm and strong,
> Is Patience:
> And th'other black and grave, wherewith each one
> Is checkered all alone,
> Humility.
> The gentle rising, which on either hand
> Leads to the Quire above,
> Is Confidence:
> But the sweet cement, which in one sure band
> Ties the whole frame, is Love
> And Charity.

Among the simple peasants of the Wiltshire valley such teaching was not without its reward. The plough-

man stopped in his daily toil and murmured a few words of prayer as he heard Herbert's bell sending forth its summons to common worship. From Herbert, and from such as Herbert, Laud had nothing to fear. To them it was a pleasure to be under authority, and to be bidden to submit to rules out of which their submissive minds might draw some hidden sweetness.

§ 5. Richard Sibbes.

It was the fault of the House of Commons that its system would have found no room in the Church for Herbert. But if the Church was to remain unrent, room must be found in it for those who were very unlike Herbert. Of all the Puritan preachers of the day no man stood higher than Richard Sibbes. Ever in the pulpit, amongst the lawyers of Gray's Inn, or at the University church at Cambridge, he did not shrink, as Herbert shrunk, from contact with the world. Wherever men were thickest, wherever the spirit of evil was the strongest, his voice was raised. It was the Puritan gospel which he preached. In his appeals Christ was speaking, not through outward ceremonies or holy rites, but straight to the heart and conscience of the hearer, bidding him sink at once into repentance, in order that he might rise up into sanctification. Just as for Herbert the outward form was but the incitement to holiness of life, so with Sibbes the form of doctrine, the argument about grace and predestination was but the mental framework in which the living spirit moved and worked. The element in the Puritan creed which stirred men's spirits most deeply was the doctrine of conversion, the firm conviction of an immediate divine action of the Holy Spirit upon the heart, and of His constant abiding presence in the midst of all trials and temptations. Like the other Puritans, Sibbes is distinguished by his triumphant confidence in the issue of his activity. Herbert's melody, in its happiest tones, has always some-

thing sad and plaintive about it. Even Laud and Wentworth acknowledged to themselves that the chances were against them. Eliot in his prison, Sibbes in his pulpit, are jubilant with exultation. Church arrangements, state institutions have been shattered before and will be shattered again. But the sad consciousness of sin, the joyful sense of righteousness and purity, are unassailable by outward force. To place such men as Sibbes under such men as Laud is to reverse the natural order of things. The time will come when the strong man will burst his chains, and will make himself master of the house.

A.D. 1633. § 6. Puritan conformists.

As yet there seemed no likelihood of this. Sibbes and his fellow-workers were compelled sometimes, rather unwillingly, to use the whole of the Prayer Book. What was worse still, a jealous eye was kept on all their movements. In 1627 Sibbes and four others were reprimanded for venturing to collect money for exiles from the Palatinate at a time when the king found such difficulty in raising the forced loan. In 1633 a heavier blow was dealt against him. With eleven others like-minded with himself he had bought up Church property, which had been impropriated by laymen in earlier times, and used it to supply the needs of Puritan ministers and schoolmasters. At Laud's instance the whole scheme was referred to the Judges, who declared it to be illegal. A stop was put to this attempt to supply Puritan preachers. Yet Sibbes, though sorely grieved, never wavered for an instant in his devotion to the Church of which he was a minister. In a letter which he addressed to a friend who was thinking of separating himself from it, he protested against the very thought. The Church of England, he said, was a true Church. Even those who thought the ceremonies to be evil were not justified in making a rent in the Church for

that reason. The remedy would be worse than the disease. Let his friend leave his extravagant courses, and return 'to the sacred communion of this truly evangelical Church of England.'

§ 7. The estrangement not complete.

Such is the language of a leading Puritan teacher in 1633. Its meaning is evident. There is a sense of dissatisfaction, but no actual estrangement. The gulf between Laud and the Puritans is not yet impassable.

Section V.—*New England.*

§ 1. The Separatists.

So little chance did there seem to be of changing the existing system, that some to whom it was altogether intolerable sought a refuge elsewhere. Ever since the reign of Elizabeth there had been those who regarded the English Church not as something to be altered and modified, but as something to be abandoned by all true Christians. Of the various names by which these men have been known, that of Separatists best describes their position. They believed that each congregation of faithful men should separate itself from nominal Christians, and should form a community by itself, choosing its own ministers for convenience sake, but not acknowledging any strict line of distinction between the clergy and laity. Few in numbers, and unpopular, from the contempt in which they held ordinary Christians, they were looked down upon by both parties in the Church.

In 1608 a congregation of these men had emigrated to Holland, finally settling at Leyden. But they were accustomed to country life, and town occupations pressed hardly on them. The busy world, with its loose and often sinful ways, offered temptations from which they would gladly escape,

§ 2. The congregation at Leyden.

and many of them resolved to seek new homes in America, where they might be free to follow their ideal of a gospel life.

On the coast of that which is now known as the United States, English settlers were already to be found The colony of Virginia had struggled through terrible difficulties, and was now established as a tobacco-planting, well-to-do community. But the Virginians did not trouble themselves about the ideal of a gospel life, and the new settlers had to seek in colder and more northern regions for a home.

§ 3. The colony of Virginia.

In 1620 the emigrants, a hundred in all, 'lifting up their eyes to heaven, their dearest country,' sailed across the Atlantic, in the 'Mayflower,' in search of a spot in which to pass the remainder of their earthly pilgrimage. Coming to an anchor in the broad bay which lies inside Cape Cod, they explored the coast before them. November had come upon them with its cold snow-laden blasts. But they found a home at last—Plymouth, as they called it, after the last port which they had seen in England. Their troubles were not yet at an end. Disease, engendered by hardship, carried off half their numbers, and some fifty men, women, and children remained alone on that rugged and ironbound coast, to form a nucleus for the New England of the future.

A.D. 1620. § 4. The voyage of the 'Mayflower.'

For ten years little addition was made to their number. Some few came out to join them. Others occupied the most promising positions around, to fish, to trade with the Indians, sometimes to plunder and to cheat them. The reopening of religious strife in England caused a fresh flow of emigration. In 1630 about a thousand Puritan men found their way across the Atlantic, with John Winthrop at

A.D. 1630. § 5. Massachusetts settled.

their head, and the Massachusetts settlements were firmly established.

In all these settlements the principles of the Separatists were unquestioned. Outward forms and ceremonies were altogether thrust out from any place in worship. But it was not in search of liberty that these men had crossed the ocean. The Bible was to them a code of law, and they had made up their minds strongly as to the interpretation to be placed on doubtful passages. He who would not accept their interpretation was to be banished from the colony. He who accepted it, but had sinned against the precepts which he acknowledged, was punished. One day Winthrop, who had been elected governor, came to a place named Hue's Cross. He ordered it at once to be named Hue's Folly, lest men should think that Jesuits had been there. We can fancy how he would have dealt with a living Jesuit. Within their own circle the colonists were upright, forbearing, kindly men, fearing God and tenderly loving one another. In 1633 no sane man would have predicted that men like these would soon be the masters of England. In the end of that very year a noted Separatist, who had taken refuge in Holland, wrote a book with the suggestive title, 'A Fresh Suit against Human Ceremonies.' In the preface he argued that no danger could possibly come from the toleration of Separatists, on the ground that the great majority of the English people were well inclined towards the Prayer Book.

§ 6. Religious character of the colonies.

CHAPTER V.

THE REIGN OF THOROUGH.

SECTION I.—*General Enforcement of Conformity.*

IN August 1633 Archbishop Abbot died, and Laud was immediately appointed as his successor. He had so long influenced the king in Church matters, that the change in title seemed likely to bring him but little increase of authority. Practically, however, the change was great. Out of his own diocese, he had before only noticed accidentally things which displeased him. He now held himself bound by duty to notice everything. Whatever powers an archbishop might claim by ancient, even if forgotten, usage, he would put in force till the order of the Prayer Book was accepted by all. If there was anything doubtful in his claims, Charles was ready to support him with all the weight of the royal authority.

A.D. 1633. § 1. Laud archbishop.

Laud had scarcely taken possession of the see when he gave deep offence to the Puritans. In Somerset, as well as in many other parts of the kingdom, it was the custom to keep the anniversary of the dedication of a parish church with a feast. These feasts had often degenerated into drunken revelry. The justices of the peace, supported by Chief Justice Richardson, attempted to put a stop to the custom. The attempt was resisted by Laud as an interference with the right of the bishop to deal with ecclesiastical matters. Richardson was summoned before the council, and sharply reprimanded by the archbishop. 'I have almost,' he said, as he came out, 'been choked with a pair of lawn sleeves.' Laud and the king thought, per-

§ 2. The Declaration of Sports.

haps wisely, that if the justices of the peace did their duty, the drunkenness might be repressed, and the social gatherings continued. They followed up their decision with a more questionable step. They not only reissued the Declaration of Sports which had been issued in the late reign, to authorise the use of pastimes on Sunday afternoons, but they ordered all the clergy to read it publicly in their churches. To the Puritan the Declaration seemed to be an incitation to sin, a breach of the fourth commandment. Laud cared nothing for such scruples. He demanded obedience.

§ 3. The communion table.

Scarcely less offensive was a decision taken on the position of the communion table. By the canons, the table was to remain at the east end of the chancel, excepting when it was needed for the communion, at which time it was to be placed in that part of the church or chancel from which the minister could be most conveniently heard. In practice it stood permanently at the east end in cathedrals and in some parish churches, whilst in most parish churches it stood permanently in the midst of the chancel, or even in the nave. Laud's indignation was roused when he heard of the unseemly uses to which it was often put. Men laid their hats on it in time of service, or used it as a writing-table, upon which to transact the business of the parish. In a case brought before the council, the king explained away the canons by the interpretation that the bishop, or other ordinary authority, could alone determine where the table could most conveniently be placed. The consequences of this decision were not immediately perceptible. But by degrees, at Laud's instigation, the bishops pressed on the removal of the table to the east end, and the surrounding of it with a railing. That which meets the eye impresses the mind more than that which meets the ear: and hundreds

of persons who cared little about Arminianism, or about the news of a fresh ceremony introduced into some distant cathedral, were roused to indignation when their own parish church put on a new appearance, and the table was, as it seemed to them, transmuted into an altar.

Laud, too, was ungentle in all his doings. Rarely did he fail to demand the heaviest penalty for offences. One of the sturdiest opponents of his system was William Prynne, a learned barrister, who, in defiance of the archbishop, had poured forth book after book from his burning brain. His was a most unspiritual religion. As unsympathising as Laud with the full life of human nature, he tried all things by the dry logic which was to him all-sufficient. Sometimes he would find a terrible sin in the wearing of long curls—love-locks as they were called—by men; sometimes in drinking healths; sometimes in wrong opinions on the subject of predestination. He now turned his attention to theatres. There was much room for the scourge of the satirist. Vile indecency tainted the highest dramatic efforts of the time, and even the noblest characters could not be introduced upon the stage unless they were smothered in a foul morass of seething corruption. Prynne's heavy work, *Histriomastix*, or Scourge of Stageplayers, was likely to convince no one who was not convinced already. Bringing every charge under the sun against the players, he held them responsible for every sin which the pages of history revealed to have been committed by their predecessors in Greece or Rome. From the players he turned to the government which had permitted the abuse, and he inserted words which were held to reflect on the queen, who had announced her intention of taking part in a theatrical representation at court at the time when the book was published, and had already shared in the rehearsals. After the publication

A.D. 1634. § 4. Prynne's sentence.

of the book Prynne was sentenced in the Star Chamber to stand in the pillory, to lose his ears, and to imprisonment at the king's pleasure. He was also to be dismissed from the bar, and to be deprived of his university degrees.

Prynne's sentence, outrageous as it was, was not received with that general indignation which it would have called forth two or three years later. The Inns of Court had been roused by his wholesale condemnation of the drama to spend thousands of pounds on a gorgeous masque, which they presented to the king, and some who afterwards took the foremost part in resistance to the court joined now in approval of its measures.

§ 5. The Inns of Court masque.

It is not the lawyers' masque which will be the memorial to all time of Prynne's fault and of his sufferings. John Milton, the son of a London scrivener, had grown up, his mind stamped with thoughtful seriousness, but with no feelings of opposition to the rites of the Church of England. He could join in the praise of a prelate like Andrewes, the bishop whom Laud revered as a master. He could be carried away by the charms of musical harmonies and glowing colour to write verses like these:—

§ 6. Milton's *Penseroso* and *Comus*.

> But let my due feet never fail
> To walk the studious cloister's pale,
> And love the high embowèd roof,
> With antique pillars massy-proof,
> And storied windows richly dight,
> Casting a dim religious light,
> There let the pealing organ blow,
> To the full-voiced quire below,
> In service high and anthems clear,
> As may with sweetness, through mine ear,
> Dissolve me into ecstasies
> And bring all Heaven before mine eyes.

But he could not bow his high and self-sustained mind

to look upon these harmonies as more than mere adjuncts to the food of his spiritual nature. He could not regard anything that was outward and sensible as giving the law within which he was to restrain his worship. With this thought before him he wrote *Comus*. He intended to show that it was possible to be the author of a dramatic poem of which the action should revolve round the ennobling thought of purity. But though acted in the presence of one of the most royalist of the royalist peers, it was none the less a protest against Laud's admiration of mere external decency. The inward, the poet tells us, gives the law to the outward, not the outward to the inward.

> So dear to Heaven is saintly chastity
> That, when a soul is found sincerely so,
> A thousand liveried angels lackey her,
> Driving far off each thing of sin and guilt,
> And in clear dream and solemn vision
> Tell her of things that no gross ear can hear,
> Till oft converse with heavenly habitants
> Begin to cast a beam on the outward shape,
> The unpolluted temple of the mind,
> And turns it by degrees to the soul's essence,
> Till all be made immortal.

§ 7. The metropolitical visitations.

Meanwhile Laud was pursuing his course. Claiming, as archbishop, the right to enquire into the condition of every diocese of his province, he sent forth his officials far and wide. Every clergyman who failed in conforming to the Prayer Book, who protested by word or deed against the removal of the communion table, who objected to bow his head when the sacred name of Jesus was uttered, was called in question, suspended, deprived, perhaps fined or imprisoned. Unity of creed had been the idol of the Puritan. Unity of outward worship was the idol of Laud. As he told Wentworth, he was all for 'thorough,' the system of complete discipline on which his heart was set. The

clergy were to be drilled as a sergeant drills his soldiers. Human nature rebelled against the yoke. Moderate men began to suspect that all this was but part of a design to bring England again under the papal domination. It was known that an emissary from Rome attached to the queen's court was frequently admitted to Charles's presence, and the effect of his pleadings was naturally exaggerated. There were some amongst Laud's followers who approached more nearly than he did to the Roman doctrine, and a few desertions from Protestantism startled England into a panic for which Laud's harsh and ill-advised proceedings were in the main responsible.

SECTION II.—*Ship-money.*

Laud had alienated the thought of England. The king was busily alienating those who cared for its laws.

A.D. 1634. §1. Financial pressure.

His revenue almost equalled his expenditure. But there were debts still to be paid, and every now and then there were extraordinary expenses to be met. Extraordinary means were used to gain money. Whole districts of land were claimed as part of the royal forests, on the ground of old and long-forgotten records. Fines were imposed upon noblemen and gentlemen who were thoroughly loyal to the crown, as the price at which they were allowed to retain estates which had been in the hands of their ancestors for generations; and though the larger fines were ultimately remitted, smaller sums were exacted from many persons who were sure to grumble at the burden. There were other fines too of various descriptions; fines, for instance, for depopulating estates, and for building new houses to add to what was considered the already overgrown size of London. Weston, who had been created Earl of Portland in 1635, had levied very few additional customs; but after his death in 1635, fresh impo-

sitions were laid upon commerce without the shadow of Parliamentary right. Corporations were also established in ever increasing numbers to exercise trade or manufacture under the safeguard of a monopoly.

§ 2. Charles wants a fleet.

None of these burdens, however, caused such irritation as ship-money. Portland had always hankered after an alliance with Spain for the purpose of overthrowing the Dutch commercial supremacy. The commerce of the Dutch was far richer than that of the English, and their fisheries in the sea which divides England and Holland brought in an enormous revenue. The navy of France, too, was growing under Richelieu's fostering care, and Charles, jealous of the rivalry of France, claimed the right of dominion over the Channel, as well as over the North Sea. Charles suspected that a scheme was under consideration by the Governments of France and Holland for an attack upon Dunkirk to the profit of France. He had no mind to see the whole of the southern shore of the Straits of Dover in the hands of Lewis, and he felt much as all Englishmen would have felt a few years ago, if they had come upon the traces of a plot for handing over Antwerp to Napoleon III. The Spanish diplomatists hastened to take advantage of his dissatisfaction, and an agreement was negotiated by which Spain engaged to meet part of the expenses of vindicating Charles's claim, on the understanding that it was eventually to lead to war with the Dutch, and perhaps with the French as well.

§ 3. The first ship-money writ.

How was money to be found for the fleet? In 1626, and in the time of Queen Elizabeth, the maritime counties had been called upon to furnish ships for the defence of the realm. That, however, had been in time of war, whilst England was now in the enjoyment of profound peace. Yet Noy, the attorney-general, declared that even as matters

stood, such a course was in accordance with more ancient precedents. In 1634 writs were issued, commanding that the ships should be found by the coast towns. A few weeks later the towns were told that they might, if they chose, provide money instead of ships, which would in that case be furnished out of the royal navy. In the summer of 1635 the fleet thus obtained put out to sea. But there was no enemy to fight. The Spanish money had not come. The King of Spain, impoverished in the midst of wealth, could not find the sum which he had offered to provide, and bade his ambassador make what excuse he could. Charles had no mind to stand alone in a war against the French and the Dutch, and the fleet returned in the autumn without having fired a shot.

The sense of power in possessing a fleet once more was too much for Charles's judgment. Portland was now dead, and Noy was dead. Rash counsels prevailed. A second writ was issued, in which precedent was thrown to the winds. This time orders were sent, not to the maritime counties alone, but to every shire in England. 'As all,' the privy council declared, 'are concerned in the mutual defence of one another, so all might put to their helping hands.' Such an argument was undoubtedly not without its weight. No Chancellor of the Exchequer would think now-a-days of asking Hampshire and Yorkshire to provide for the expenses of the navy, whilst Worcestershire and Derbyshire went free. But how was the plea likely to be received by men who believed that the navy was not needed for any national object at all? Behind these reasonable doubts there was an argument more irresistible still. The king claimed to decide alone when he might act, unfettered by ordinary restraints of law, for the good of the nation. Such a claim might readily be allowed if it was confined to some special emergency when there was no time to

A.D. 1635. § 4. The second writ.

summon Parliament. But this last resource known to the constitution as a desperate remedy in the extremest danger, was now becoming the ordinary rule. If the king was to judge when he might take money for ships, he would soon want to judge when he might take money for an army. Whatever precedents might say, it was impossible that a precedent could be admitted which would make Parliament for ever unnecessary, and which would reduce the right of parliamentary taxation, the object of so many struggles, to a dead letter.

A.D. 1637. § 5. The Judges consulted.

Once more, in 1636, a fleet was set out. But resistance had been raised on every side. In February 1637 Charles resolved to consult his Judges. He prided himself particularly on acting according to law, and in referring his rights to the opinion of the Judges; yet already in the course of his reign he had dismissed two Chief Justices, and had suspended a Chief Baron, for venturing to disagree with him. It was enough for him if he kept within the letter of the law, even whilst he was wholly disregarding its spirit. He now asked the Judges whether he might not raise ship-money when it was needed for the defence of the kingdom, and whether the king was not the sole judge, both of the danger, and when and how it was to be prevented and avoided? Ten of the Judges answered in the affirmative at once, and the other two signed their reply on the ground that they were bound by the decision of the majority. This reply was published by the king in every county in England.

§ 6. Hampden's resistance.

Charles doubtless thought the opposition would come to an end. John Hampden, a Buckinghamshire squire, thought otherwise. If the king might take what money he pleased, he might consequently do as he pleased. If the House of Commons could refuse to grant money needed for the necessities

of government, they could mould the government after their pleasure. Only one view of the case was possible for Hampden. The king had alienated not merely the House of Commons, but the nation. Was the king to govern in opposition to the nation? Hampden refused to support so mischievous a doctrine, and flatly refused to pay.

Hampden's case was argued in the Exchequer Chamber. Of the twelve Judges two only pronounced decidedly in his favour. Three supported him on technical grounds alone. Seven declared in favour of the king. If this was to be the law, there never need be an English Parliament again. Ship-money continued to be levied, but the opposition grew louder every day. The decision of the Judges was openly ascribed to timidity or obsequiousness. The arguments of Hampden's counsel were welcomed as the true reading of the law from one end of England to the other.

A.D. 1638. § 7. Judgment against him.

SECTION III.—*Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton.*

Three years had wrought a great change in England. In 1634 Prynne's ears had been lopped off without causing any extraordinary excitement, and the Inns of Court had signalised their detestation of his principles by spontaneously offering a masque to the king. In 1637 Prynne received a fresh sentence, and this time he had no reason to complain of the want of popular sympathy.

A.D. 1637. § 1. Change of feeling in England.

He did not now stand alone. A violent and scurrilous attack upon the existing church government from his pen might be compared with two other equally violent and scurrilous attacks from the pens of a physician named Bastwick, and a clergyman named Burton. The reply of the Star Chamber was to send them to the pillory, to

§ 2. Sentences of Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton.

sentence them to the loss of their ears, to condemn them to a fine of 5,000*l.* apiece, and to imprisonment for life.

§ 3. Their execution.

Rash and intemperate words were to be met by brutal deeds. But the spirit of opposition was already roused. As the three passed from the prison to the pillory in Palace Yard, the people strewed herbs and flowers in their path. 'They all three,' we are told by a contemporary, 'talked to the people. Bastwick said they had collar-days in the king's court'—days, that is to say, when the knights of the Garter wore their collars—'and this was his collar-day in the king's palace, He was pleasant and witty all the time. Prynne protested his innocence to the people of what was laid to his charge. Mr. Burton said it was the happiest pulpit he ever preached in. After two hours the hangman began to cut off their ears. He began with Mr. Burton's. There were very many people. They wept and grieved much for Mr. Burton, and at the cutting off each ear there was such a roaring as if everyone of them had at the same instant lost an ear.' Bastwick gave the hangman a knife, and making use of his surgical knowledge, taught him to cut off his ears quickly, and very close, that he might come there no more. The hangman hewed off Prynne's ears, 'which had been roughly lopped off three years before,' putting him to much pain; 'but after he stood long on the scaffold before his head could be got out, but that was a chance.'

§ 4. General sympathy.

Popular sympathy was not confined to London. As the three passed through the country to their respective prisons, men flocked to greet them as martyrs. 'The common people,' we are told, 'are extremely compassionate towards them.' No ordinary prison was thought likely to remove them sufficiently far from friendly looks and hands, and Prynne was finally sent to Jersey, Burton to Guernsey, Bastwick to the Scilly Isles.

Popular indignation found due expression in literature. In *Comus*, written in 1634, Milton had contented himself with setting forth his own view of spiritual life. In *Lycidas*, written in 1637, he burst forth into a stirring protest against the evil system which was crushing out the vigour of religion. Under the thin disguise of the terms of a shepherd's life, he bemoans a young friend who had been lately drowned. But he has other passions in his soul than that of sorrow. The shepherds of the people, or, in plain English, the clergy, moved his indignation :—

A.D. 1637. § 5. Milton's *Lycidas.*

> How well could I have spared for thee, young swain,
> Enow of such as for their bellies' sake,
> Creep and intrude, and climb into the fold!
> Of other care they little reckoning make
> Than how to scramble at the shearer's feast
> And shove away the worthy bidden guest,
> Blind mouths! that scarce themselves know how to hold
> A sheep-hook, or have learnt aught else the least
> That to the faithful herdsman's art belongs.
> What recks it them? What need they? They are sped;
> And when they list, their lean and flashy songs
> Grate on their scrannel pipes of wretched straw.
> The hungry sheep look up and are not fed,
> But swoln with wind and the rank mist they draw,
> Rot inwardly and foul contagion spread.

wolf of Rome too was busy :—

> Besides what the grim wolf with privy paw
> Daily devours apace, and nothing said.

But it would not be for ever. From some quarter or other the avenger would arise, executing justice with a weapon of which the strokes would be as unavoidable and as crushing as those of the flail of Talus in the *Faerie Queen*.

> But that two-handed engine at the door
> Stands ready to strike once and strike no more.

The feeling of those days left its trace on political

phraseology. The English constitution, like all other constitutions of Western Europe, knew of estates of the realm gathered round the king. In England, as all men held in 1629, the three estates were the Lords Spiritual, the Lords Temporal, and the Commons. In 1640 men talked, as uninstructed men talk now, of King, Lords, and Commons, as the three estates of the realm. The blunder had a wisdom of its own. It meant that Englishmen would be ruled no longer by the clergy, and that they would only be ruled by the king if he acted in combination with the Lords and the Commons. They had not yet come to ask that the Lords and Commons should rule without the king. But they were weary of a system under which the king was everything and the nation nothing.

§ 6. King, Lords, and Commons.

SECTION IV.—*Wentworth in Ireland.*

It was only at the close of Elizabeth's reign that Ireland was brought under real subjection to the crown of England. Under James the process of reducing the various tribes under a settled and orderly government was continually advancing. But the task was a hard one. Each tribe in the wilder parts of Ireland possessed more lands than it could cultivate, if, indeed, it cared for anything more than to pasture cattle upon them. The chiefs, with their warlike followers, did as they pleased, made war when they liked, and took the property of their tribesmen when they liked.

A.D. 1603. § 1. The Irish tribes.

The English government resolved to establish a better state of things. Peaceable cultivators settled on their own property would be better off themselves, and would be likely to make better subjects. The government therefore deliberately

§ 2. Plans of the English government.

set itself to bring into existence a class of native proprietors. Yet change, though it be for the better, is always dangerous, and unless the government were strong as well as just, there was a risk that the chiefs and their armed followers would rise in insurrection before the change was accomplished.

Now-a-days the government would ship off a few regiments to Dublin to maintain order. In James's reign the government had no regiments to send, and no money with which to raise them. An excuse was furnished by the rebellion and flight of the two chiefs by whom the greater part of Ulster was ruled. The north of Ireland was declared to be forfeited to the crown, and was given over to English and Scottish colonists. Lands, it is true, were assigned to some of the natives. But they had no reason to trust the intruders, and the change in all the conditions of their life was too sudden to allow them to adapt themselves easily to it. Even if this had not been the case, there was the feeling rankling in their bosoms, that under the cover of legal forms which were unintelligible to them, they had been stripped of the lands of their fathers.

A.D. 1610. § 3. The plantation of Ulster.

The religious difference, too, was still a source of serious danger. The man who looked to the Pope for his creed was likely to look to the King of Spain for his politics. Yet it was impossible to compel a whole nation to change its belief, and, with some intermittent efforts at persecution, the government was obliged to trust in the main to persuasion. It was to trust to a broken reed. The Protestant Church of Ireland was in utter confusion. Its lands and income had been scrambled for by self-seeking adventurers till there was scarcely a parish or even a bishopric in Ireland of which the incumbent was not reduced to poverty. It was only by heaping upon one

§ 4. Confusion in Ireland.

man offices so numerous that it was hopeless for him to dream of fulfilling his nominal duties, that it was possible to induce anyone to accept an Irish benefice at all. The natives gazed upon the spectacle without respect, and attended mass in secret.

A.D. 1633. § 5. Wentworth Lord Deputy.

In the summer of 1633 Wentworth undertook the government of Ireland. He brought with him a perfectly fearless spirit, a rapid and clear intelligence, and a firm determination to establish orderly rule in that country, which had known less of it than any other country in Europe. He brought with him, too, a contemptuous disregard for that sense of obedience to law which it is the first duty of every wise government to cultivate. It was enough for him if the right thing was done. How it was done he cared but little.

A.D. 1634. § 6. The Irish Parliament.

Whatever the merits and defects of the new Lord Deputy may have been, it was unfortunate for him that he could not legislate without the Irish Parliament. In England the voice of Parliament was coming to be more than ever the voice of a united nation. In Ireland there was no nation to represent. There were members who were elected by the native population, and members who were elected by the English colonists. There was no common feeling, no possibility of combining for any national object. What Ireland wanted was a government like the government of India at the present day, supporting itself on an irresistible army, and guided by statesmanlike intelligence. Wentworth saw this with a glance. In 1634 he called a Parliament, threatened it, cajoled it, appealed to the interest of each set of men in it separately, till he got the money which he wanted. A well-paid, well-disciplined army was the result. The thing was well done

The manner in which it was done was not so well. The evil was perhaps inevitable, as matters stood. As much cannot be said of Wentworth's mode of treating the popular demands. Before he came to Ireland the king had offered certain conditions in return for the expected grant of subsidies. Wentworth took upon himself the responsibility of breaking the king's promises by simply refusing to fulfil those which he did not think fit to keep. It is probable that he seriously believed that Ireland would be the better if those promises were not kept. But there is nothing to show that he had any conception of the demoralising influence exercised by a government which openly evades its engagements.

§ 7. Ireland under Wentworth.

As far as material interests were concerned, Ireland had never been so prosperous as it became under Wentworth. Wealth took the place of poverty, trade and commerce sprang up where none had existed before. The flax industry of the North of Ireland owes its origin to Wentworth's protecting hand. His ecclesiastical system was the ecclesiastical system of Laud, though it was put in force with rather more discretion. Roman Catholics and Puritans were repressed, whilst a reforming hand was laid upon the Church itself. Churches and schools were built or repaired. The revenue of the clergy was snatched out of the hands of those who had filched it away, and a beginning was made of the establishment of a body of ministers who might represent the English ecclesiastical system with decency in the eyes of the natives. In the civil and military administration of the country, incompetent or self-seeking officials were weeded out of the service, and were replaced by others in whom the Deputy could place implicit confidence.

That Wentworth should make many enemies in such

a process is quite intelligible. But he made far more enemies than was absolutely necessary. His harsh and overbearing nature could not brook opposition, and the manner in which he treated those whom he distrusted caused more angry feeling than the mere fact of his determination to dispense with their services.

§ 8. His overbearing temper.

The wrongs done to the English officials at Dublin caused a profound sensation in England. The charge which Irishmen mainly bring against Wentworth is that he urged on a plan for colonising Connaught after the king had solemnly promised that it should not be colonised. The Irish, he considered, could be permanently held in obedience only by a strong force of English settlers, who would introduce order and industry into those wild regions. For this object the forms of law were converted into the instruments of arbitrary power. Juries were bullied to find verdicts according to Wentworth's mind. Legal quibbles were raised which gave him all that he wanted. Wentworth's system of government seemed liable to no rule, and broke in upon the ancient traditions and the fixed if disorderly habits of the population with all the caprice and violence of the powers of nature.

A.D. 1635. § 9. Proposed plantation of Connaught.

Wentworth's rule of Ireland was, in fact, the fullest development of that system of government which was known to him and Laud by the expressive nickname of 'thorough.' The word meant, in the first place, a thorough contempt of all private interests and personal ends. Office was to be held, not to enrich the holder but to benefit the state. The determination to set the state above the individual led to an equally strong determination to set the state above classes and parties; above prejudices however deeply rooted, above

§ 10. Wentworth's mode of government.

interests however widely spread. Even with such a man as Wentworth to direct the action of the state, such a policy could hardly have attained the success for which he hoped. It grasped too much at once, and whilst improving the outward condition of men, it lowered their moral dignity by treating their modes of thinking, their sentiments and aspirations, as unworthy of a moment's consideration. It dealt with human beings as a flock of sheep is dealt with by the shepherd; and human beings, faulty and corrupt though they may be, are capable of better things than a flock of sheep. Nor was it possible to separate the effects of Wentworth's system in Ireland from the effects of his system in England. In Ireland, in intention at least, it aimed at raising the condition of the population to a higher stage of civilisation. In England it would have debased a high-spirited and united nation to a lower stage of civilisation. In Ireland the genius of Wentworth had to fall back in the last resort upon the support of Charles. In England the weakness of Charles was undermining the edifice of government, and for good or for evil Wentworth's authority in Ireland must stand or fall with the authority of his master in England.

CHAPTER VI.

RESISTANCE IN SCOTLAND AND ENGLAND.

SECTION I.—*The Downfall of Episcopacy in Scotland.*

§ 1. Episcopacy in Scotland.

EPISCOPACY had been retained in England because the bishops had taken part in the English Reformation. Episcopacy had ceased in Scotland because the bishops had not taken part in the Scottish Reformation. The bishops who were

to be found there in the beginning of the 17th century had been placed in office by James because he wanted instruments to keep the clergy in order, and he was able to do this because the nobles, far more powerful in Scotland than in England, were jealous of the clergy. The clergy and the mass of religious people were Puritan with a strength of Puritanism unknown in England, and it had only been by threats and by the aid of the nobles that James had driven the clergy to accept some few English church forms, such as kneeling at the sacrament, and the keeping of Christmas and Easter. But even these were resisted by large numbers of the people, and any man of sense would have seen that the Scotch could not be compelled to accept further ceremonies without serious risk.

A.D. 1637. § 2. The new Prayer Book.

Neither Laud nor Charles could be satisfied till a new Prayer Book was drawn up for Scotland, which, so far as it differed at all from the English service, differed in a sense adverse to Puritanism. On July 23 an attempt was made to read the new service for the first time at Edinburgh. Scarcely were the first words uttered, when a wild uproar arose amongst the women who were present. A stool was thrown by one of them at the officiating minister's head. A man ventured to say 'Amen' at the conclusion of a prayer. 'Dost thou say mass in my lug?' (in my ear), cried one of the viragos, and dashed her bible in his face. The voice of the rioters was the voice of Scotland. The whole nation, with slight exceptions, bristled into resistance. Doubtless other causes were mingled with religious zeal. The nobles, who had once been jealous of the clergy, were now jealous of the bishops, and suspected that Charles meant to take away from them the lands which had formerly been the property of the Church. The national feeling was offended by the introduction of a

service-book from England. But whatever were the motives at work, Scotland presented an almost united front in opposition to the detested innovations.

A.D. 1638. § 3. The Covenant.

As Charles's unwillingness to withdraw from his ill-advised position became known, the resistance grew more stubborn. In November four Committees, known as the Tables, practically assumed the government of Scotland. In February almost all Scottish men were hurrying to sign the national Covenant, engaging to defend the reformed religion, and promising 'to labour by all means lawful to recover the purity and liberty of the gospel, as it was established and professed before the innovations.'

§ 4. Hamilton in Scotland.

Charles felt the insult keenly. But he was obliged to enter into negotiations. The Marquis of Hamilton, a courtly, inefficient peer, was sent to wheedle the Scots, if it might be, out of the Covenant. Charles had recourse to those subterfuges in which he delighted in times of difficulty. In order 'to win time,' Hamilton was to give ear to anything the Scots might choose to say. What else could he do? The English, it was known at court, were 'readier to join the Scots than to draw their swords in the king's service.' Hamilton was instructed to promise to the Scotch a General Assembly of the Church, to be followed by a Parliament; and on September 2 a proclamation was issued revoking the service-book and other obnoxious measures, and promising to limit the powers of the bishops. At the same time the Scotch were asked to abandon their Covenant for another of the king's inditing.

§ 5. The Glasgow Assembly.

On November 21 the promised Assembly met at Glasgow. A General Assembly was a far better representation of the Scottish nation of that day than the Parliament. The clerical element was predominant in the Assembly as in the

nation. But it did not stand alone. Together with 144 clergymen sat 96 lay elected members, chosen by the towns and country districts, and comprising the bulk of the nobility. Hamilton was there to represent the king.

It was not long before Hamilton found himself at issue with the Assembly. The bishops refused to acknowledge the authority of an Assembly which had been composed without reference to them. The Assembly insisted on its right to pass judgment on the bishops. Hamilton resisted to the uttermost. The king, he said, was supreme over all causes civil and ecclesiastic; to him the bishops had appealed, and he alone was competent to be their judge. Finding his words of no avail, he left the Assembly and issued a proclamation dissolving it. The Assembly took no account of the proclamation, deposed the bishops, annulled all the forms and ordinances of the Episcopal Church, and re-established the Presbyterian system in its entirety.

§ 6. Abolition of episcopacy.

Politically, the step thus taken was of the very highest importance. In opposition to the theory of kingship as the supreme authority in the state, the Scotch had virtually unfurled the banner of republicanism. They still called themselves subjects of King Charles. But they decided the one important question of the day without consulting him, and without allowing him the right of rejecting or modifying their resolutions. They stretched out their hand and grasped the supremacy which Charles had used so unwisely.

§ 7. Practical republicanism.

If all this meant republicanism, it did not mean liberty. In the eyes of the Glasgow Assembly Presbyterianism was a form of church order established by God himself, and announced to men in the Bible. Christians had no right to be governed in

§ 8. The movement not a liberal one.

ecclesiastical matters otherwise than by the clergy, with such association of the laity as the special church orders of any given country might direct. But there was to be no control by bishops, no control by the king, no liberty of speech or writing.

§ 9. Yet it was a condition of liberty.

For all that, the Scottish movement was a necessary preparation for liberty. Not till the majority of a nation is left undisturbed in its religious or political principles can it venture to accord freedom to a minority. The resolution of Charles and Laud, to compel a nation to worship God in a way which the mass of that nation believed to be displeasing to God, was rightly met by the assertion that to the mass which worships, and not to the few who direct, belongs the choice of the forms in which worship should be clothed. Whilst the conflict lasted it was no more possible to be tolerant of disaffection than it is possible for a general of an army in the field to be tolerant of disaffection. But the mere success of the majority of the nation would eventually bring toleration in its train. The strong can afford to allow things to be done and words to be spoken which the weak will be eager to suppress at all hazards.

Section II.—*The Bishops' Wars and the Short Parliament.*

A.D. 1639. § 1. England and Scotland.

The commotion thus begun in Scotland was certain to spread to England. If the claim of the Scottish Assembly went further than the claims of the English Parliament, it was nevertheless of the same kind as that which had been advanced by the Commons in 1629. Englishmen had not said that they could make laws without the king, or that Presbyterianism was of divine right. But they had said that the king was morally bound to take their

advice, and that the doctrines which they professed were so true that no others ought to be openly preached. Against this theory Charles and Laud, not without some thought of a divine right of kings and bishops in the background, had maintained the counter theory of the royal supremacy in church matters. If Scotland was allowed to throw off the yoke, it would not be long before England followed its example.

If, therefore, the king was not to abdicate the power with which he believed himself to be entrusted for the good of both nations, war there must be with Scotland. War, too, it must be without the support of an English Parliament, which would be certain to expect answers to awkward questions. Voluntary contributions were therefore first asked from the nobility and strong pressure was put by Laud upon the clergy to induce them to follow their example. The laity in general did not show any eagerness to favour the movement.

§ 2. Preparations for war.

The Scotch were thoroughly prepared. The kingdom swarmed with old soldiers who had served in Germany in the Thirty Years' War, and thus, though Scotland had not been engaged in war for many years, she had at her disposal a veteran force to serve as a nucleus for her untrained levies. At the beginning of June some 20,000 men were gathered on Dunse Law, a hill not far from Berwick, and at Kelso. Opposite to them was the king, with rather more than 21,000 Englishmen. But they were Englishmen who had no heart to fight. They knew that at the bottom the Scottish cause was the cause of England as well. Everything was in disorder in Charles's camp. The men had not food enough to eat. The officers themselves were grumbling at the tasks assigned to them. The recruits scarcely took the trouble to learn their duty as soldiers, and one of them sent a shot

§ 3. The first Bishops' war.

through the canvas of the king's tent. Charles, whose means of paying his soldiers was coming to an end, knew that fighting was impossible, and reluctantly agreed to treat for peace. On June 24 an agreement was signed, in which the deeds of the Glasgow Assembly were passed over in silence, but a promise was given that all affairs, civil and ecclesiastical, should be settled in concurrence with an Assembly and a Parliament.

A.D. 1640. § 4. The Short Parliament.

Neither the Assembly nor the Parliament conducted itself to Charles's satisfaction, and he began to turn his thoughts towards a renewal of the war. Wentworth, now raised to the earldom of Strafford, came over from Ireland and stirred the fire. He had been long away from England, and was doubtless but little aware of the temper of the English people. He counselled the summoning of a Parliament. After eleven years' intermission, Parliament—the Short Parliament, as it was afterwards called—met at Westminster. Charles had come upon the traces of some communication between the Scotch insurgents and the French government, and he fancied that the spirits of Englishmen would be stirred when they heard of a treasonable connexion with their ancient enemy. But Englishmen had something else to think of, and the Commons at once made it plain that their own grievances must be redressed before they would give anything to the king. As they also demanded that the war against the Scots should be abandoned, Charles dissolved Parliament on May 5, after a session of only three-and-twenty days. To yield except to force would be to renounce every principle of his life.

§ 5. The King and the Commons.

It was impossible that the dissolution of this Parliament should leave men's tempers as they were before. English Puritanism and Scottish Presbyterianism were not yet quite the same thing. But they were rapidly approaching one

another. The Puritans had discovered that the king so detested their principles that he would rather engage in war with scarcely a prospect of success, than yield to their demands. They still shrunk from acknowledging that in so doing he was only acting in accordance with the conditions of his nature. With what remnant of loyalty still remained, they laid the blame on Laud and Strafford; on Strafford more especially. The fact stood out clear as day before their eyes that he had once been the leader of the House of Commons, and that he was now the great enemy of that parliamentary preponderance which they now demanded as their right. He was to them the great apostate, terrible in his wrath, subtle in his machinations.

§ 6. Strafford's position.

Whatever allowances a fuller enquiry may enable us to make for Strafford's errors, there can be no doubt that he had thrown himself on the wrong side in the great struggle of his day. In the long run, in the course of years, Strafford's objections to the predominance of Parliament would have to be listened to, and it would be necessary to provide remedies against the evils which he foresaw. But the immediate danger lay in another direction. The orderly Elizabethan government, with its wise statesmen at the head, and its loyal Parliaments laying their advice at the foot of the throne, had no place in the real life of 1640. Things had come to such a pass that men must choose between the supremacy of Charles and the supremacy of Parliament, however much the members of the Houses might veil the issue by persuading themselves that they were contending for King and Parliament against the obnoxious advisers of the King. Nicer distinctions must wait till that quarrel had been fought out.

A few months were to pass before the great conten-

tion was brought to an issue. Strafford was now with Charles as he marched northwards. But even Strafford could not infuse a particle of his spirit into that disaffected army. The Scotch invaded England. At Newburn, on August 28, they crossed the Tyne, driving before them an English force in headlong panic. Strafford did not venture to advise the prolongation of the war with the army in such a temper. Negotiations were opened, and Northumberland and Durham were left in the hands of the Scots as a pledge for the payment of their expenses, at the rate of 850*l.* a day, till a permanent treaty could be agreed on.

§ 7. The second Bishops' war.

In such desperate circumstances another Parliament was unavoidable if the Scots were to be contented. The king had already called round him, after an obsolete precedent, a Great Council of Peers. But the Peers had advised him to summon Parliament, and that advice there was no resisting. This time he would have to meet the opposition of both Houses.

§ 8. The Great Council.

Section III.—*The Meeting of the Long Parliament, and the Execution of Strafford.*

On November 3, 1640, that great assembly, destined to be known in history as the Long Parliament, met at Westminster. Charles was anxious to obtain an immediate vote of money. But Parliament had work of its own to do first, and every member knew that there were chances on the side of the Parliament which might never be offered again. If Parliament were dissolved before the Scots were paid, there was nothing to prevent the Scottish army from marching to London without opposition. For once, Charles did not dare to dissolve Parliament, and the Commons were naturally in no hurry to provide for the satisfaction of the Scots.

§ 1. The meeting of the Long Parliament.

There were many men at court whom the Commons disliked. There was one man whom they both feared and hated. On the 11th, the impeachment of Strafford upon the charge of high treason was moved by Pym, who at once took the lead in the House. If his speech was an attack upon the man, it was also an arraignment of the system of which that man was the highest representative. It was an appeal to the rule of law from the rule of will. At once the charge was carried up to the Lords. Strafford was just entering the House as the message arrived. Shouts commanded him to forbear from pressing forward to his place. He left the House only as a prisoner. Others of the leading officials fled abroad to escape the storm. Laud was committed to the Tower, but at present there was no thought of touching the old man's life.

§ 2. Impeachment of Strafford.

On March 22, 1641, the trial of Strafford began in Westminster Hall. Day by day the king and queen came down, concealed by a trellised partition, to listen to the proceedings. Article after article was enforced by the arguments of the managers for the Commons. All Strafford's life was unrolled before his eyes as a settled attempt to overthrow the constitution in England. But after the long list of his offences had been produced, the doubt was moved whether all these things together would constitute high treason. That crime was strictly defined by a statute of Edward III., and it was difficult to draw any one act of Strafford's within the wording of that statute. Young Sir Henry Vane, the son of the Secretary of State, rummaging amongst his father's papers, found a note of a speech delivered by Strafford at a committee after the dissolution of the Short Parliament, in which he had spoken of the king as 'absolved and loose from all rule of government.' 'Your Majesty,' he had gone on to say,

A.D. 1641. § 3. His trial.

'having tried all ways and been refused, shall be acquitted before God and man; and you have an army in Ireland that you may employ to reduce this kingdom to obedience, for I am confident the Scots cannot hold out three months.' In order to urge that this constituted treason, it was necessary in the first place to show that the kingdom intended was England and not Scotland, an interpretation which is borne out by a consideration of the speech as a whole, but also to show that an attack upon the institutions of the country was equivalent to the crime of high treason.

§ 4. The impeachment turned into an attainder.

The Commons became aware that the Lords were wavering on the legality of the sentence which they were asked to give. They dropped the impeachment and substituted a bill of attainder. An impeachment called upon the Lords to act as judges, and to decide in some sort after legal rules. A bill of attainder, passing both Houses and accepted by the king, was an act of power for which no reasons need be given. Pym, with his intense reverence for law, struggled against the conclusion. Treason, he held, was not an offence against the king's private person, but against the king as the head and representative of England, and an attack upon England must be held to be the worst attack upon the king. Such arguments could not break down the scruples of the Peers. The House of Commons voted to proceed by bill. The Lords, refusing at first to concur, were frightened at last by the discovery that Charles was intriguing to bring an army against the Parliament. On May 8 the bill of attainder passed both Houses.

§ 5. Execution of Strafford.

If Strafford was a public enemy, he was at least the friend of the king, and Charles had given him a special promise when he came to London, that not a hair of his head should be touched. To save him was well-nigh impossible. But it was not for Charles to set his hand to the sentence

Charles hesitated, and was lost. That outer world of popular resolve, the very existence of which in his self-contained imagination he had absolutely ignored, confronted him with firm determination. Charles blenched before the unexpected foe and consigned his truest supporter to the scaffold.

Strafford was to die as a public enemy. The old Tudor constitution was based upon the co-operation of king and Parliament. The king had isolated himself not merely from the House of Commons, but from the nation which was behind it, and to his attempt to rule without reference to the nation Strafford had devoted all the strength of his intellect. He could not see that the foundations of order and of wise government could be laid far more firmly in the popular will than in the will of an individual. With his eyes open to the blunders and faults of representative assemblies, he deliberately excluded from his calculations the blunders and errors of the king. It was too late to learn the lesson when he was abandoned by Charles. With the words 'Put not your trust in princes' on his lips, he prepared for the scaffold. On May 12 the axe fell, and the great royalist statesman had ceased for ever to influence the course of this world's affairs.

A.D. 1641. § 6. He dies as a public enemy.

Section IV.—*Demands of the Commons.*

It was well that Pym's voice should be raised for law. But it was not with law that the Commons were immediately concerned. Virtually, the contest which began with Strafford's impeachment was a struggle to ascertain whether the Crown or the House of Commons was the strongest power in the country. When that question should be answered, it would be possible to build anew on the old foundations. It is useless to watch the doings of this

§ 1. The struggle for supremacy.

Parliament, and to ask how far its acts were in compliance with some constitutional standard of the 15th or the 19th century. It is useless to ask whether they might not have regulated the king's authority instead of shattering it. It was its business to shatter it because, with Charles upon the throne, it was impossible to regulate it.

§ 2. Diminution of the powers of the crown.

Thick and fast the blows succeeded one another. With the Scottish army in the background, the Commons had obtained the royal assent in February to a bill authorising the election of a Parliament at least once in three years, even if the king did not summon one. In May the king agreed that the existing Parliament should not be dissolved without its own consent, a stipulation which, as it rendered the House of Commons independent of all power external to itself, gave into its hands a dictatorship which would have been ruinous in an ordinary state of things, but which was absolutely necessary for the special work of establishing its own supremacy. One after another the instruments by which the king had been enabled to defy the nation were snatched from his hands. Ship-money was declared to be illegal, and tonnage and poundage were no more to be levied without parliamentary consent. An end was put to the Star Chamber and the High Commission. The king therefore could no longer pay his way without recourse to Parliament, nor could he send any of his subjects to prison without recourse to the ordinary legal authorities, a rule which, in most cases, implied recourse to a jury as well.

§ 3. The Scots return home.

In July the work was done, and in August a treaty was signed with the Scots. The money due to the Scottish army was paid, and the men who had delivered England recrossed the border and dispersed to their northern homes.

Why were not the Commons satisfied? In the first place, because they could not trust the king. It was not in the nature of things that any man not sufficiently clear-sighted to have avoided falling into such difficulties should be sufficiently clear-sighted to act with prudence in the position into which he had now been driven. It was impossible to suppose that Charles would consent to see himself stripped for ever of that authority which he had been taught to consider his own by right. He might not directly seek to annul the legislation to which he had assented. But there were hundreds of indirect ways in which he might gather up the fragments of authority which were left, and attempt once more to impress his will upon England.

§ 4. Distrust of the king.

Such considerations would probably have been of little avail against the king if there had been no question practically in dispute between him and the Commons. But if the political arrangements had been settled, the ecclesiastical arrangements were still unsettled. The king still believed that what Laud had done had been rightly done. The majority of the Commons believed that it had been wrongly done. It was no merely theoretical difference. If Laud was in prison, the other bishops were not, and unless something were done to take power out of the bishops' hands, it would be difficult to prevent them from seizing an early opportunity of exercising their influence in a way which seemed very evil to the House of Commons. Laws might be made to abolish the late innovations, to compel the removal of the communion table from its new position, to abrogate offensive rites and ceremonies; but unless some way were found of limiting the power of the bishops whose duty it was to see that the new laws were carried into effect, it was to be feared that they would, to a great extent, remain a dead letter. The Church would be

§ 5. The Church question.

sure, under the guidance of the Commons, to assume a form more or less Puritan, and such a Church could not safely be entrusted to Laudian bishops.

The first action taken was but a little part of that which was to follow. In March a bill was brought in to restrain bishops from meddling with secular affairs. If it passed, they could no longer sit in the privy council, or in the House of Lords. In the House of Lords it met with opposition, and in June it was thrown out by a decided majority. The Commons warmed to the encounter. They replied by pushing on a root and branch bill, as it was then called, for the entire abolition of bishops in the Church.

§ 6. Bills against the bishops.

The opposition to these bills did not proceed altogether from the friends of Laud's system. There was a strong middle party forming in both Houses and in the nation, desirous of a compromise, in which episcopacy should be in some way modified by arranging that the bishops should share their authority with the ministers of their dioceses.

§ 7. The Moderates.

Foremost among the new party of Moderates was the gentle and amiable Lucius Cary, Lord Falkland. In early life Falkland had tried and abandoned a soldier's life, and had retired 'to a country life and to his books.' His reputation for learning rapidly grew. 'He was of so stupendous learning in all kinds, and in all languages, that a man would have thought he had been entirely conversant with books, and had never spent an hour but in reading and writing; yet his humanity, courtesy, and affability was such that he would have been thought to have been bred in the best courts, but that his good nature, charity, and delight in doing good and communicating all he knew, exceeded that breeding.' But it is neither for his learning nor for his benevolence that Falkland is best remembered. His house at Great

§ 8. Falkland.

Tew, a few miles from Oxford, was the gathering place for a company of wise or witty men, who would have been content to follow Laud in his opposition to the dogmatism of the Puritans, but who abhorred Laud's despotic enforcement of uniformity. Thither came Chillingworth, the herald of a wide and tolerant Christianity. Thither came others, such as Sheldon and Morley, who lived to be the pillars of the Church of the Restoration, after their generosity had been chilled by the icy wind of Puritan supremacy. There, too, came men who were but the verse-writers and the jest-makers of the day. Falkland had a kindly word and a helping hand for them all. When they visited Great Tew they 'found their lodgings there as ready as in the colleges; nor did the lord of the house know of their coming or going, nor who were in his house, till he came to dinner or supper where all still met; otherwise, there was no trouble, ceremony, or restraint, to forbid men to come to the house, or to make them weary of staying there; so that many came thither to study in a better air, finding all the books they could desire in his library, and all the persons together whose society they could wish, and not find any other society.'

§ 9. Edward Hyde.

Edward Hyde, the future Lord Chancellor Clarendon, and the author of that History of the Great Rebellion which was to teach four generations of Englishmen to look with admiration upon the royalist cause, had a lawyer's dislike of the assumption of temporal authority by the bishops, but a mind far less liberal than that of Falkland.

§ 10. Weakness of the Moderates.

To those who look back from these times of peace upon those days of bitter strife, Falkland's policy of compromise seems at first sight very wise. But it may fairly be doubted whether compromise was then possible. As things then stood, bishops were the nominees of the crown. They

had for the most part been appointed to maintain a state of things which it was thought desirable to sweep away. To surround such men with counsellors whose ideas were diametrically opposed to their own would be to constitute anarchy and to call it government. Unless the whole bench of bishops was to be deposed and a new one nominated in accordance with the principles of the Commons, the proposed compromise could not possibly be put into working order. The weakness of the Moderate party was that it had no practical plan to propose, and that even if such a plan could have been found, men's minds were too excited by past injustice to listen to anything which did not give the amplest assurance for the supremacy of Puritanism. For a little time the battle was postponed. The king announced his resolution to visit Scotland. The Houses were at variance with one another as to the extent to which ecclesiastical change should be carried, and, leaving the question unsettled, they adjourned for six weeks, to October 20.

§ 11. The king's part in this weakness.

It was in the king's power to convert the weakness of the Moderate party into strength. If he could once impress men with the notion that he had frankly accepted the new order of things all might yet go well. It was because he did not, could not, frankly accept it that distrust arose. The belief that Charles regarded the Moderate party simply as a lever to bring about the restoration of much of that which he had yielded strengthened the hands of Pym in his demand for further guarantees. It was in vain that Charles brought into his council men who sympathised with some of the ideas of the Commons, and that he entrusted offices of state to Falkland and Hyde. Pym's eye was upon him, and Pym believed that he would be governed by his own wishes, and not by Falkland and Hyde.

SECTION V.—*The Grand Remonstrance and the Rupture with the King.*

The news from Scotland was every day growing more alarming. The dominant spirit in Scotland now was Argyle, a bad warrior but an able statesman. With patient skill he had woven firmly all the elements of dissatisfaction into a compact national resistance. It was in vain that the fiery young Earl of Montrose had writhed under his supremacy, had entered into correspondence with the king, and had offered to denounce Argyle as a traitor. Before the king reached Scotland Montrose was in prison as a plotter. Before he had been there long, all Edinburgh was ringing with a further plot of Montrose's for kidnapping, if not murdering, Argyle and his leading followers, in which the king was strongly suspected of being involved. Nothing was proved, and the only result was that the king threw himself entirely into the hands of Argyle, filling every place in the government with his supporters. In return, they gave him their word of honour that Scotland would never interfere in the religious quarrels of the English.

August. § 1. The king in Scotland.

October 12.

If some inkling of these Scottish arrangements had filtered through to the ears of Pym, the effect was as nothing compared with the effect of the tidings from another quarter which spread over London on November 1. The north of Ireland was aflame with insurrection. The strong hand of Strafford had been removed, and the Celtic population had turned savagely on the English and Scottish colony. Murder, and atrocities worse than murder—so at least rumour, doubtless not without large exaggeration, affirmed

§ 2. The Irish insurrection.

—had ruled unchecked. England learnt with horror that tender women had been stripped naked and turned out into the wintry waste, to die of cold and starvation; that others had been driven into the river and drowned; that innocent children had been slaughtered as savagely as full-grown men; and that those who escaped the sword or the club had wandered helplessly about till death brought forgetfulness of their sufferings. The lowest estimate of the destruction which was able to gain credit in England raised to 30,000 the number of the victims.

§ 3. Effect of the news.

One bitter cry for vengeance went up from England, as pitiless as that which in our own time arose when the news of the Indian Mutiny reached our shores. But with anger mingled distrust of the king. He had been doing strange things in Scotland. Might he not have been doing strange things in Ireland as well? How was it possible to trust him with an army to put down the Irish rebellion? It was but too likely that he would use it to put down the English Parliament first. To some extent no doubt there may have been exaggeration in these suspicions. But they were right in the main. Charles, with an army at his command, would undoubtedly not have tolerated Pym. It is hardly likely that he would have retained even Hyde and Falkland in his council. The time had come when it was absolutely necessary for England to have a government by which it could be guided. It was no longer within the limits of possibility that Charles should offer it such a government. He stood alone, separate from the feelings and wishes of his people, as completely without sympathy with the Moderate party as he was without sympathy with the most violent of his opponents. It was an absolute necessity to get rid of Charles, and to substitute some man or body of men in his room.

It was not in the nature of things, however, that even

those who were most resolved to go forwards should at once open their eyes to the distant point towards which they were surely tending. It was enough for the present for them to issue a manifesto showing what Charles's errors had been, in order that all men might see why it was so difficult to trust him now. The Grand Remonstrance was the result. It was a long indictment of Charles's conduct from the beginning of his reign, exaggerated doubtless, and untrue in many particulars, but none the less representing the history of the past years as it mirrored itself in the minds of earnest Puritans. The remedies proposed were the appointment of ministers responsible to Parliament, and the reference of ecclesiastical difficulties to an assembly of divines nominated by Parliament. Those in the House who did not wish to see Puritanism predominant rallied round the king, persuading themselves that Charles had seen the error of his ways, and would now rule better than he had hitherto done.

§ 4. The Grand Remonstrance.

The vote on the Grand Remonstrance was strictly a vote of want of confidence in the king. The debate was long and stormy. From early morning all through the afternoon the torrent of argument and warning ran on. Night fell, and candles were brought. It seemed as if at that crisis of England's history no man dared to leave unspoken the word which was burning on his tongue. At last, after midnight, the division came. A small majority of eleven declared against the king. At once a member rose to move that the Remonstrance should be printed; in other words, that it should be spread abroad to rouse the nation to share the distrust of the majority of the House of Commons. The Moderates declared their resolution to protest against such an act. A protest was unprecedented in the House of Commons. A wild uproar ensued. Members snatched their swords from their belts.

Nov. 20. § 5. A stormy debate.

and handled them with significant gestures. It needed all Hampden's authority to obtain the postponement of the discussion.

Five days later the king returned to London. The large minority in the Commons was backed by an enthusiastic body of supporters in the City. Charles was feasted at Guildhall, and the populace shouted welcome in the streets. On the sole condition that he could show himself worthy of confidence, the vote of want of confidence would soon be reversed.

Nov. 25. § 6. The king's return.

It was the hardest condition of all. Charles restrained himself so far as to listen to the Remonstrance. But he gave no promise that he would act otherwise in the future than he had acted in the past, and his words from time to time gave reason to think that he had little idea of subsiding into a subordinate position. On December 14 the Commons ordered the printing of the Remonstrance, and the order was followed by an answer from the king speaking disdainfully of those ecclesiastical reforms which the Puritan majority had most at heart.

Dec. 1. § 7. Receives the Remonstrance.

The necessity of conciliating popular opinion which he believed to be mistaken or corrupt had never been understood by Charles. He was not likely to learn the lesson now. He had discovered a technical offence in the leaders of the Opposition. Lord Kimbolton in the Lords; Pym, Hampden, Hazlerigg, Holles, and Strode in the Commons, had entered into communications with the Scots during the late troubles. Legally they were guilty of treason in so doing, and on January 3 Charles sent his Attorney-General to impeach them before the House of Lords. With its leaders safely lodged in the Tower, resistance on the part of so small a majority would be difficult, if not impossible.

A.D. 1642. January 3. § 8. Impeachment of the members.

It has always been held that Charles was technically in the wrong in his method of procedure. If it was so, his offence was swallowed up in the greater offence which followed. As the Commons returned an evasive answer to his demand for the immediate arrest of the members, he resolved to seize them himself on the morrow. When the morrow came the queen had some difficulty in encouraging her husband to the task which he had undertaken. 'Go along, you coward,' she said, 'and pull those rascals out by the ears.' Followed by a troop of some five hundred armed men, the king betook himself to the House of Commons. Leaving his followers outside, he stepped quickly up to the Speaker's chair. Standing in front of it, he told the House that he had come to fetch the traitors. In cases of treason privilege of Parliament was no defence against imprisonment. Looking hurriedly round, he was unable to see any of the five. Calling upon Lenthall, the Speaker, he asked whether they were there. Lenthall knelt before him with all outward show of reverence. 'May it please your Majesty,' he said, 'I have neither eyes to see nor tongue to speak in this place, but as the House is pleased to direct me.' 'Well, well!' answered Charles, ''tis no matter; I think my eyes are as good as another's.' Then again, after further search had convinced him that he had come in vain, 'Since I see all my birds are flown, I do expect from you that you will send them unto me as soon as they return hither, otherwise I must take my own course to find them.' As he moved out of the House shouts of 'Privilege! privilege!' followed him from every side.

January 4. § 9. Charles attempts to seize them.

Charles doubtless imagined himself to be acting within his rights. The men, as he believed, had not only been technically guilty of treason, but had actually attempted to subvert the constitution by placing the Commons above the Crown. It

§ 10. Intention of the king.

is useless to dwell upon the legal question thus raised. It is enough to say that Charles's long government without any reference to Parliament had made it necessary that Parliament should govern for a time without any reference to him. It was now evident that Pym had judged Charles more truly than Falkland. He would only yield to the new order of things as long as he was obliged to do so.

§ 11. The Commons in the City.

The attempt of the king to coerce the House of Commons by an armed force struck deeply into the popular imagination. The accused members had been warned in time, and had taken refuge in the City. The whole House followed, and sat daily as a Committee at Guildhall. The City, a few weeks before so enthusiastic in Charles's favour, gathered now stoutly round the Commons. Every man capable of bearing arms turned out in their defence. On January 10 the king gave way. He left Whitehall, never to see it again till the fatal day when he was to enter it as a prisoner. The Commons returned in triumph to Westminster.

§ 12. The power of the militia.

The struggle for supremacy was now to be put in a simple and intelligible form. Though there was no standing army in England, there was a militia composed of citizen soldiers trained to defend their homes. Hitherto the officers had been named by the king. The nomination was now claimed by Parliament. For months argument was carried on on both sides with vigour and ingenuity. But the real question was not what was constitutional, but who was to rule England. Neither side could give way without a complete abandonment of all that it believed to be right.

CHAPTER VII.

THE DOWNFALL OF ROYALTY.

SECTION I.—*The Beginning of the Civil War.*

§ 1. Conservatism of the Commons.

THE immediate strength and ultimate weakness of the majority of the Commons lay in its conservatism. The king and the bishops were rejected because they were promoters of change, inasmuch as they had attempted to impose by force a form of religion distasteful to large classes of the community. As long as the danger of a return of the Laudian innovations was unremoved, so long there would be no place for those reforms which men like Falkland had at heart. 'It is far from our purpose or design,' the majority had declared in the Grand Remonstrance, 'to let loose the golden reins of discipline and government in the Church, to leave private persons or particular congregations to take up what form of divine service they please; for we hold it requisite that there should be throughout the whole realm a conformity to that order which the laws enjoin according to the Word of God; and we desire to unburthen the consciences of men of needless and superstitious ceremonies, suppress innovations, and take away the monuments of idolatry.' For this purpose a general synod was to be called of 'the most grave, pious, learned, and judicious divines of this island, assisted by some from foreign parts, professing the same religion with us.' There was no word of liberty here, no sign that the framers of the Remonstrance had advanced a step since

1629. What change there was to be was simply in order to avert change. Openness of mind to new ideas, desire to reconcile conflicting elements, were with Falkland and not with Pym. For the present, such rare qualifications were thrown away by Falkland's association with Charles.

§ 2. Elements of Charles's army.

It was not, in fact, upon the more thoughtful elements of his party that, when once it came to war, Charles would have to rely. The dashing cross-country rider, followed by his grooms and huntsmen, would count for more in a cavalry charge than all the eloquence of Falkland or all the legal arguments of Hyde. Nor was the superiority confined to the field alone. The unreasoning loyalty of the man who said, 'If the king's crown hung in a bush I would fight for it,' would blossom out into wiser counsel for the immediate present than would proceed from a statesman who had reason to distrust the projects of the king, though he had resolved, from very mingled motives, to support him. Sir Edmund Verney's may have been an extreme case. But he surely did not stand entirely alone. 'You,' he said to Hyde, 'have satisfaction in your conscience that you are in the right, that the king ought not to grant what is required of him; and so you do your duty and business together. But, for my part, I do not like the quarrel, and do heartily wish that the king would yield, and consent to what they desire, so that my conscience is only concerned in honour and gratitude to follow my master. I have eaten his bread and served him near thirty years, and will not do so base a thing as to forsake him, and choose rather to lose my life—which I am sure I shall do—to preserve and defend those things which are against my conscience to preserve and defend; for I will deal freely with you—I have no reverence for bishops, for whom this quarrel subsists.'

The conservatism which loves to preserve ancient institutions was arrayed against the conservatism which loves to preserve spiritual and mental beliefs. On August 22 the king's standard was set up at Nottingham to summon all loyal subjects to his aid against a rebellious Parliament. A decided majority of the Lords, and a large minority of the Commons answered to his call. The civil war had begun.

August 22. § 3. The war begins.

No exact line of demarcation can be drawn between the portions of England which supported the two causes. But with an uncertain region between, the north-west of England—in the days when coal and iron combined formed no portion of the national wealth, the rudest and least thickly populated part of the country—took the king's side, whilst the south-east, with its fertile lands, its commercial and manufacturing activity, and its superabundant wealth, was on the side of the Parliament.

§ 4. Choosing sides.

Parliament appointed the Earl of Essex as its commander-in-chief. A steady, honourable, sober-minded man, without a spark of genius, he would hardly be likely to know what to do with a victory, even if he got one. On September 22 the first skirmish was fought at Powick Bridge. The king's troops were successful, and he pushed on for the south, hoping to keep Christmas at Whitehall. At Edgehill he was forced to halt to meet the pursuing army of Essex. There on October 23 the first battle was fought, with no decisive results. Prince Rupert, the dashing horseman, the son of Elizabeth and the Elector Palatine, drove all resistance before him with his cavalry; but the royalist infantry could not stand against the Parliamentary foot, and Rupert returned from headlong pursuit, too late to secure a victory. The fruits of

October 23. § 5. Edgehill battle.

victory were on the side of the king. Charles was able to keep on his way towards London. On the morning of November 12 he was at Brentford.

London was in imminent danger, but she had her heart in the great contest. The trained bands turned out to a man, and marched with firm step to Turnham Green. Skippon, a veteran from the German wars, took the command of the City forces. 'Come, my brave boys,' he said, as he rode amongst them, 'let us pray heartily and fight heartily; remember the cause is for God and for the defence of yourselves, your wives, and children.' All day long on the 13th the two armies stood facing one another. At last the king blenched and ordered a retreat. He was never to have such another chance again.

Nov. 13. § 6. The defence of London.

No genius had as yet been displayed on the parliamentary side. But there was one man, the member for Cambridge, who was there to supply the need. Oliver Cromwell had lived for many years in the strictest school of Puritan morality. To him the forms and ceremonies of the Church had come to be an abomination since the Laudian system had been enforced. He saw in them nothing but a human device set up as a wall of separation between him and heaven. To him God stood revealed in the Bible, and in the words of Christian men which were founded on the Bible. His special moral characteristic was an intense love of justice to the poor and the oppressed. If ever he is heard of in those years in which Puritan voices were mostly silent, it is in some effort to redress wrongs suffered by the weak. Into the work of the Long Parliament, when it met, he threw himself heart and soul. He was not a man to be led away by subtle distinctions or broad philosophical views of an ideal state of things which might possibly

§ 7. Cromwell's character.

be desirable in some other century or in some other land than that in which his lot was cast. All the iron force of his will was directed to the attainment of the one thing immediately needed, and he knew, what Falkland did not know, that that one thing was to deliver England from the king and such bishops as Charles had appointed formerly, and was likely, if he regained power, to appoint again. If Cromwell's aims were all within compass, no man had a clearer insight into the conditions under which those aims were to be attained; no man a more practical mind in the avoidance of routine and the choice of fit instruments for his work.

§ 8. His advice to Hampden.

Cromwell at once detected the weak point in the parliamentary army. 'Your troops,' he said to Hampden, 'are most of them old decayed serving men, and tapsters, and such kind of fellows, and their troops are gentlemen's sons, younger sons, and persons of quality: do you think that the spirits of such base and mean fellows will ever be able to encounter gentlemen, that have honour and courage and resolution in them? You must get men of a spirit, and take it not ill what I say—I know you will not—of a spirit that is likely to go on as far as gentlemen will go; or else you will be beaten still.' Hampden shook his head, thought the notion good, but impracticable. At all events, it was the very essence of Puritanism. Milton held that the highest beauty of woman was the outward expression of the pure spirit within. Cromwell held that the highest bravery of man was the outward expression of a spirit set upon high and holy things.

§ 9. Cromwell's regiment.

Undeterred by Hampden's doubts, Cromwell proceeded to put his idea in execution. First as captain of a troop, then as colonel of a regiment, he refused to be served except by men whose heart was in the cause; and who were also men

ready to submit to discipline. He was soon master of the best soldiers in either army. 'My troops,' he wrote, 'increase. I have a lovely company. You would respect them did you know them.'

§ 10. The campaign of 1643.

Through 1643 the war dragged on without any decisive success on either side. The king took up his head quarters at Oxford. He lost Reading, but the Earl of Newcastle gained successes for him in Yorkshire, and in the south; Devonshire, Somersetshire, Dorsetshire, Wiltshire, and the north of Hampshire, fell almost completely into his hands. Already Hampden had been slain by a chance shot in an obscure skirmish. The royalists, full of hope, laid siege to Gloucester, that they might no longer have the enemy established in their rear. At Westminster there was doubt and hesitation. It was only through stress put upon Parliament by a City mob that both Houses were prevented from agreeing to terms of peace which would have carried with them an abandonment of their main pretensions. If Gloucester had fallen, in all probability the civil war would have come to an end. Essex, however, followed by the London trained bands, marched boldly to its relief, and Charles broke up the siege. On Essex's return he found the royal army drawn up at Newbury to bar the way; but the battle, the first battle of Newbury, as it was called, was again indecisive, and Essex was glad to be allowed to continue his march. Even if Gloucester was saved, and Essex was undefeated, royalism was gaining ground in many other parts of the kingdom.

§ 11. Death of Falkland.

In the battle of Newbury, in which the unbroken discipline of the Parliamentary foot was again memorable, Falkland fell. He had long been weary of the war, weary above all of the uncongenial persons with whom he was obliged to act, and of the evil counsels which prevailed too often with Charles. 'His natural

cheerfulness and vivacity grew clouded, and a kind of sadness and dejection of spirit stole upon him which he had never been used to.' His bodily health wasted away. He would go about murmuring 'Peace! peace!' Weary of life, and fearing lest the rough swordsmen around him would fancy that his love of peace implied a want of personal bravery, he exposed himself recklessly to every hazard. At Newbury he went cheerfully into action, and fell mortally wounded. His wise, beautiful soul was no longer to lift up its warnings on earth against evil to come. The distant future was his, the future of compromise and moderation. The present was Pym's and Cromwell's.

SECTION II.—*Presbyterians and Independents.*

Already, on July 1, the synod known as the Westminster Assembly had commenced its sittings. Against the Laudian idea of uniformity of ceremony was to be set the Puritan idea of unity of belief. And though the Assembly would have enough to do with the discussion of theological dogmas for some time to come, there was a good practical reason why Parliament should understand unity of doctrine to mean unity of discipline as well, and why that discipline should be the discipline of Presbyterianism.

A.D. 1643. § 1. The Westminster Assembly.

Things were not going well with the army, and the help of the Scots was much desired. But it was well known that the Scots would give no help unless England was presbyterian, and the House of Commons felt itself inspired with some alacrity to declare England presbyterian. Not that in so doing they were acting against their consciences. If England was not to be episcopal, it could hardly as yet be anything but presbyterian. The complaint against the bishops had been that they interfered with the parish clergy. It was only natural to try the experi-

§ 2. Invitation to the Scots.

ment of leaving the parish clergy to organise themselves in order that they might manage the Church in their own way. If there was any difficulty at all, it was because, true to English traditions, the Commons wished to maintain the supremacy of the lay power over the clerical, whilst the Scots held that the clerical power was subject to no superior on earth. Further, there was a small element, both in the Assembly and in Parliament, which was unwilling to bind England for ever to a complete agreement with Scotland.

The Scots, however, were immovable. No Presbyterianism, no Scottish army. In September the Solemn League and Covenant was signed by the members of Parliament, binding them to endeavour to bring the religion of England, Scotland, and Ireland to as much conformity as possible, and to reform religion 'according to the word of God, and the example of the best reformed churches.' The phrase 'according to the word of God' is said to have been added at the suggestion of Sir Henry Vane, always anxious to preserve intellectual liberty, and who wished to be able to find in it a loop-hole, if at any time he might be inclined to argue that any particular Scotch proposition was not in accordance with the word of God. In this form, the Covenant was offered on every side as a test of fidelity to the parliamentary cause. Wherever the power of Parliament could reach, all signs of the Laudian ceremonies which yet remained were driven from the face of the earth. Charing Cross and the Cross at Cheapside had already been torn down. Superstitious images, crucifixes, and altars were taken away. Many a painted window rich with the glories of mediæval art, many a quaint device and monument of earlier piety, paid the penalty for Laud's attempt to force the observance of acts of outward reverence upon unwilling minds. Human opposition was not to be suffered to maintain

§ 3. The Covenant.

itself when the tacit protest of glass and stone had been overruled, and the Earl of Manchester (the Lord Kimbolton who had been accused in company with the five members) was sent to Cambridge to drive out all who refused the Covenant. There were to be no diversities of opinion at that seat of learning. Oxford was as yet beyond the reach of Parliament.

The guidance of the House of Commons had hitherto been in the hands of Pym. It would be hard to find in the course of English history another man so fitted to this special task. A conservative by nature, and instinctively opposed to the reception of new and unaccustomed ideas, he was the very man to head a revolutionary movement of which the object was to preserve as much as possible of the existing system in Church and State. To that task he brought untiring energy, great capacity for business and knowledge of finance, combined with a delicate tact which enabled him to guide a large and fluctuating body of men. The time had now come when the words of King Pym, as men called him admiringly or in derision, were no longer to be heard in the House of Commons. On December 8 he died, worn out by the labours which he had undergone. The league with Scotland was his last work. He did not live to see the northern army cross the border, but he had done all in his power to facilitate its arrival.

Dec. 8. § 4. Death of Pym.

If Pym had lived many months longer, he would have been brought face to face with new problems. In the Assembly itself a very small minority raised its voice against the dominant Presbyterianism. Many of the exiles to New England had come back in hope of better days, and had spread the doctrines of the Separatists, or Independents as they now were called. In reality, it was the reluctance to submit

§ 5. Presbyterians and Independents.

to the iron rule of clerical orthodoxy which was at the bottom of the movement. Each congregation was to be independent of every other congregation, capable of forming its own conclusions, with which no earthly power was to be permitted to interfere. Such a notion was regarded with simple horror by the commonplace Presbyterian, to whom unity of doctrine had been so long the cherished medicine for every ill which beset the land. Were men to arise from the very bosom of Puritanism to introduce innovations, distractions, wild fanaticisms? Was every man to have a religion to himself? Nor was the danger purely theoretical. Baptist opinions, shocking to the orthodox mind, were spreading. Antinomianism, too, was beginning to be heard of, denying that Christians had any need to trouble themselves about the fulfilment of the moral law. Others, as a Scotch Presbyterian rather incoherently said, taught things worse than that; 'the mortality of the soul, the denial of angels and devils; and cast off sacraments; and many blasphemous things.'

If the sects were dangerous, the Presbyterians were intolerably vexatious. Take such a scene as that which took place at Chillingworth's death. Like Falkland, he had taken refuge in the king's camp rather than submit to Puritan domination. He was captured at Arundel by the parliamentary forces, but was too ill to be carried to London. As he lay sick at Chichester he was visited by Francis Cheynell, a member of the Westminster Assembly, a 'rigid, zealous Presbyterian, exactly orthodox, very unwilling that any should be suffered to go to heaven but in the right way.' Cheynell gave the dying man no rest. He plied him with questions about his opinions. He remembered, as he himself tells us, the words of the Apostle, 'Rebuke them sharply, that they may be sound in the faith.' Chillingworth's charity was a sore stumbling-block to him.

January. § 6. Death of Chillingworth.

'I desired him,' he says, 'to tell me whether he conceived that a man, living or dying a Turk, Papist, or Socinian, could be saved? All the answer I could gain from him was, that he did not absolve them and would not condemn.' Cheynell could not endure such lukewarmness as this. 'Sir,' he said, 'it is confessed that you have been very excessive in your charity. You have lavished so much charity upon Turks, Socinians, Papists, that I am afraid you have very little to spare for a truly reformed Protestant.' In January 1644 the soul of the great latitudinarian passed away into that peace under the bright rays of which he had lived upon earth. It was only with difficulty that he was allowed a burial under the shadow of Chichester cathedral. Cheynell attended the funeral, but only that he might throw into the open grave that book, 'The Religion of Protestants,' which is Chillingworth's chief title to the admiration of later generations. 'If they please,' so Cheynell tells the story of his insolence, 'to undertake the burial of his corpse, I shall undertake to bury his errors, which are published in this so much admired yet unworthy book; and happy would it be for the kingdom if this book and all its fellows could be so buried. Get thee gone, thou cursed book, which hast seduced so many precious souls! Get thee gone, thou corrupt rotten book! Earth to earth, and dust to dust! Get thee out into this place of rottenness, that thou mayest rot with the author, and see corruption!'

§ 7. Liberty of conscience.

The tolerance of theological errors which did not threaten the bond of external unity was not entirely a new doctrine in England. Proclaimed by Sir Thomas More and the men of the new learning in the early days before the Reformation struggle grew warm, it found a place in all the highest writings of the opponents of Calvinistic Puritanism. A sense of the insufficiency of man to penetrate

Divine mysteries sheds a warm glow of charity over the pages of the wise Hooker, and even Laud was animated by a sense of the impossibility of expressing the highest religious truths by verbal definitions. Still more lately the wider culture and deeper knowledge of Chillingworth and Hales had leant even further to the side of tolerance. But the doctrine of liberty of conscience now professed approached the great problem of the day from another side. Chillingworth had never contemplated the disruption of the Church into minute fragments; he thought it possible, as Sir Thomas More thought it possible, that men might join together in public worship whilst freely pursuing independent trains of thought. The new thinkers threw off the outward forms of unity as well as the inward agreement, and were content if men were striving to reach a common end through different methods.

§ 8. Liberty of speech.

It is no wonder that ordinary Puritanism took alarm. And yet this new doctrine, hateful as it seemed, was the one thing needful. Parliamentary supremacy seemed likely to end in the rule of political commonplace. Presbyterian supremacy seemed likely to end in the rule of ecclesiastical commonplace. Government by king and council had at least been a testimony to the need of special knowledge and ability for the guidance of State affairs. Government by bishops had at least been a testimony to the need of special knowledge and ability for the guidance of ecclesiastical affairs. If there was to be no freedom of speech for the press or in the pulpit, Church and State would soon sink to the dull level of existing popular opinion. In proscribing the new thoughts which were base or misleading, the new thoughts which were to be the life-blood of the coming generation would be proscribed as well. The wheat would be rooted out with the tares.

SECTION III.—*Marston Moor and Naseby.*

Parliament would have had little reason for immediate anxiety about the progress of ideas so new to the English people, if they had not found a congenial home in that part of the army which was under Cromwell's influence. An Independent, in the sectarian sense of the word, Cromwell never was. But he was too fully inspired with the higher spiritual life of Puritanism to feel otherwise than indignant at any attempt to tie men down to fixed opinions. And though he was as yet far from occupying any very considerable place in the conduct of the war, he was slowly but steadily rising in men's opinions.

§ 1. Independency in the army.

In 1643 that part of England where Cromwell was had alone been the scene of a decided parliamentary success. The Eastern Association, in which Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge, Hertfordshire, and Huntingdonshire had bound themselves together for mutual defence, was placed in August 1643 under Manchester's command. But Cromwell was the leading spirit of the forces thus raised, and not only had he thoroughly put down royalism within the district, but he had invaded Lincolnshire, beat the royalists at Winceby on October 11, the day on which Newcastle, now a Marquis, Charles's commander in the North, raised the siege of Hull. If he had a chance of support, he would be ready, when the next campaign opened, to attack the royalists in Yorkshire.

A.D. 1643. § 2. Cromwell's progress.

It was not an easy task. Newcastle had almost succeeded in establishing his domination over all the northern counties. Fairfax, a gallant honourable men, a good horseman, with a huntsman's eye for country had struggled on in defence

§ 3. Fairfax in Yorkshire.

of the clothing towns of Yorkshire. But he had been forced to give ground, and he wanted more help than Manchester and Cromwell could give.

That help was at hand. The League and Covenant had been duly signed. A new authority, composed of Englishmen and Scotchmen, had been evoked under the name of the Committee of both kingdoms, to take the guidance of the war. The Scotch army, under the command of Alexander Leslie, Earl of Leven, crossed the border. In June Leven joined Manchester and Fairfax, and was laying siege to the Marquis of Newcastle at York.

A.D. 1644. § 4. The Scotch cross the border.

At the head of 18,000 men, the fiery Rupert hurried to Newcastle's aid, and the assailants were compelled to raise the siege. But Rupert, bold and dashing in fight, thought little of a bloodless success, and hurried Newcastle, half against his will, to a decisive battle. At Marston Moor the Scots gave way before the charge of the royalist cavalry. But Cromwell restored the fight. 'It had all the evidence,' he wrote, 'of an absolute victory, obtained by the Lord's blessing upon the godly party principally. We never charged but we routed the enemy. God made them as stubble to our swords.'

July 2. § 5. Marston Moor.

The North of England was at last in the hands of the parliamentary commanders. But Marston Moor had not been a Presbyterian victory. Cromwell's Ironsides, as they were well termed, had decided the fight. Such a result was not likely to be favourable to the views of the dominant party at Westminster. A few months before, a complaint had been brought to Cromwell that one of his officers was an Anabaptist. 'Admit he be,' was the sturdy reply, 'shall that render him incapable to serve the public? Take heed of being too sharp, or too easily

§ 6. A victory for the Independents.

sharpened by others, against those to whom you can object little but that they square not with you in every opinion concerning matters of religion.'

It was not only at Marston Moor that Presbyterian ascendancy was threatened. Essex, the chosen parliamentary general, had marched westward against the royalists of Devon and Cornwall. Charles in person followed him with a superior force. Essex was surrounded. With his cavalry he cut his way through to safety; but his foot was reduced to capitulate.

§ 7. Capitulation of Essex's foot.

The religious question of toleration or no toleration was naturally connected with a political question about the mode in which the war was to be conducted. Conservative Puritanism was longing to obtain the king's assent to complete its organisation under a presbyterian form. Those who were startled by the new idea of liberty of conscience were also startled by the new idea of doing without the king. They did not want to beat the king too much, and Cromwell, who had asserted that if he met the king in battle he would shoot him as soon as any other man, was regarded by them with horror. What they wanted was the old constitution as Eliot had understood it, in times when Eliot, if he had been still alive, would have been of a very different opinion. A new and untried state of things inspired them with terror.

§ 8. How is the war to be conducted?

The quarrel came to a head in Manchester's army. As he marched southwards, Cromwell charged him with neglecting his opportunities. He was an affable, good-natured man, much out of place at the head of an army, and there was doubtless more of constitutional indolence in his mistakes than of any deliberate intention to spare the enemy. To Cromwell, restless and energetic, prompt

§ 9. Manchester and Cromwell.

in action as in counsel, his superior officer's sluggishness seemed nothing less than treason to the cause. The dispute came to a head after the second battle of Newbury, fought on October 27, after which Manchester refrained from pushing home the advantage which he had gained. Cromwell brought the delinquencies of the general publicly before Parliament.

Cromwell had, however, no wish to bear hardly upon Manchester. He was indignant with the system, not with the man. He soon substituted for the impeachment of Manchester a Self-denying Ordinance by which every member of either House was declared incapable of military command. As a satisfaction to the Presbyterians their system of church government was declared universal in England, though the Independents reserved to themselves the right of proposing some modification which should provide liberty of conscience for other sects.

A.D. 1645. § 10. The Self-denying Ordinance and the establishment of Presbyterianism.

In another matter the Presbyterians had their way. In the preceding March Laud had been dragged from prison and put on his trial before the House of Lords. The old man defended himself with coolness and ability. He was as incapable as he had ever been of understanding the meaning of the opposition he had roused, and of the anger to which he had become a victim. As in Stafford's case the impeachment was turned into a bill of attainder, and on January 10, 1645, he was executed on Tower Hill.

§ 11. Execution of Laud.

Cromwell's voice on behalf of liberty had already found an echo. To Cromwell liberty was chiefly valuable because it gave full play to the righteousness and moral worth of men. To Milton it was chiefly valuable because it gave full play to the moral and intellectual vigour of men. Some of his books had

§ 12. Milton's *Areopagitica*.

been condemned by the official censors of the press. In *Areopagitica* he raises his contention far above the region of personal dispute. With somewhat of disdain for those who are weaker than himself, he calls upon every man to 'prove all things.' 'He that can apprehend,' he says, 'and consider vice with all her baits and seeming pleasures, and yet abstain . . he is the true warfaring Christian. I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue, unexercised and unbreathed, that never sallies out and seeks her adversary, but slinks out of the race, where that immortal garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat.' Excellence rested in the struggle which is the law of life, not in the self-satisfied contemplation of already achieved attainments. 'Behold, now,' cried Milton, 'this vast city, a city of refuge, the mansion-house of liberty, encompassed with God's protection; the shop of war hath not there more anvils and hammers working, to fashion out the plates and instruments of armed justice in defence of beleaguered truth, than there be pens and heads there, sitting by their studious lamps, musing, searching, revolving new notions and ideas wherewith to present us, as with their homage and fealty, the approaching reformation; others as fast reading, trying all things, assenting to the force of reason and convincement.' There need be no fear that liberty would give birth to anarchy. 'These are the men cried out against for schismatics and sectaries, as if, while the temple of the Lord was building, . . . there should be a sort of irrational men who could not consider there must be many schisms and many dissections made in the quarry and in the timber ere the house of God can be built. And when every stone is laid artfully together it cannot be united into a continuity, it can but be contiguous in the world: neither can every piece of the building be of one form; nay, rather the perfection consists in this, that out of many moderate varieties and

brotherly dissimilitudes that are not vastly disproportional, arises the goodly and the graceful symmetry that commends the whole pile and structure.'

§ 13. The New Model Army.

There spoke the spirit of the new epoch. The theory of enforced orthodoxy which Laud had attempted to meet by his external uniformity received here its fitting answer. Whether or not such principles were to prosper in the state, they were soon to be put to the test in the field. The reorganised army,—the New Model, as it was called—was formed after the fashion of Cromwell's Ironsides. Men with a spirit in them who were ready to submit to discipline received a welcome there. Fairfax was placed at its head. The Self-denying Ordinance was suspended in favour of Cromwell, whose services could hardly be spared. He was named Lieutenant-General. There would be no hesitation now about beating the king too much.

A.D. 1644. § 14. Montrose in Scotland.

There was the more reason for energy as a powerful diversion in favour of the king was threatening from Scotland. Scarcely more than a month after the battle of Marston Moor, Montrose rode across the border northwards, with only two companions, to rouse the Highlanders in favour of the king. He was received with the utmost enthusiasm. If they did not care much for Charles they cared a great deal for plunder, and they bore a special hatred to the Campbells, the great clan which tyrannised over the lesser clans, and the head of which was the king's enemy, Argyle. Montrose was the first man who discovered the capacity of the Highlanders for sustained war. Dashing with lightning-like rapidity from one side of Scotland to the other, he crushed every army which was brought against him. Argyle's lands were harried with a terrible destruction; Dundee was taken and sacked; the heavy Lowland troops panted after his fiery course in vain. The

New Model would have to bear the whole brunt of the English war. The Scots who had fought the year before at Marston Moor were hesitating, looking back over their shoulders as it were, to see if they were not needed nearer home.

The New Model was equal to its task. On June 14 it met the king's army at Naseby, in the very centre of England. Charles was beaten into utter ruin. He never ventured to lift his head again in the field. Some months were to pass away before all the English counties were cleared of royalist troops, and before all the fortified houses held by royalist garrisons were stormed or reduced to capitulation. But the final triumph was only a question of time. Raglan castle, the last post which held out for the king in England, surrendered in August 1646. Harlech Castle, in Wales, held out to the following spring.

A.D. 1645. June 14. § 15. The Battle of Naseby.

Better tidings, too, came from Scotland. Montrose, emboldened by victory, had ventured out of the Highlands in the spirit of his favourite verses—

> He either fears his fate too much
> Or his deserts are small,
> That dares not put it to the touch
> To gain or lose it all.

Full of confidence he approached the English border. But the Highlanders were back amongst the mountains to secure their booty. With a handful of men around him, Montrose was surprised at Philiphaugh by a force sent from the Scottish army in England. It was a slaughter rather than a fight, and Montrose's chance of ruling Scotland or of succouring the king in England had come to an end.

Sept. 13. § 15. Battle of Philiphaugh.

SECTION IV.—*The Army and the Parliament.*

Swift acknowledgment that kingship was henceforward impossible except on his enemies' terms was now Charles's one chance of safety. Unhappily, decision of any kind to do anything unpleasant was always out of the question with him. With his utter blindness to the thoughts and feelings of the world around him, he was puffed up with the thought that no party in the State could do without him, and that he had but to play off their mutual jealousies against one another, and so come to his own by intrigue. After futile negotiations with the Parliament, he made up his mind at last to trust himself to the Scots. On May 5, 1646, he entered their camp at Newark. The Scots, in order to secure their guest or their prize from the English army, carried him off to Newcastle.

A.D. 1646. § 1. The king with the Scots.

Whatever else the Scots might expect of Charles, they were sure to expect him to do something for Presbyterianism, and he was thus able to fancy that if he was very clever they might be brought into collision with the New Model. In the New Model the feeling against Presbyterianism, or rather against the refusal of toleration which sheltered itself under the name of Presbyterianism, was growing more bitter than ever. Richard Baxter, an active preacher and controversialist, hating sectarianism and Independency to the backbone, had been to see what the army looked like. 'Abundance of the common troopers, he reported, 'and many of the officers, I found to be honest, sober, orthodox men, and others tractable, ready to hear the truth, and of upright intentions; but a few proud, self-conceited, hot-headed sectaries had got into the highest places, and were Cromwell's chief favourites,

Nov. 13. § 2. Feeling in the English army.

and by their heat and activity bore down the rest, or carried them along with them, and were the soul of the army. They said, What were the lords of England but William the Conqueror's colonels, or the barons but his majors, or the knights but his captains? They plainly showed me that they thought God's providence would cast the trust of religion and the kingdom upon them as conquerors.'

In these last words lay the key of the immediate future. These men had not exposed their lives in order that they might be sent home again without liberty of conscience. It was for Parliament to put an end to the Presbyterian tyranny. If not, Parliament must take the consequences. Of this resolution Cromwell, with all moderation, was the firm exponent. He had no enmity against the Presbyterians as such. 'Presbyterians, Independents, all,' he wrote, 'have here the same spirit of faith and prayer, the same presence and answer. They agree here, have no names of difference; pity it is it should be otherwise anywhere. And from brethren, in things of the mind we look for no compulsion but that of light and reason.' The rougher demand of the common soldier would give strength to the modest language of the chief.

§ 3. Cromwell on Toleration.

All through 1645 Parliament and Assembly had been busy in completing the presbyterian arrangements for England. By the end of the year there was a large accession of strength to the Toleration party in Parliament. New elections were held to fill up vacancies, and many of these went against the Presbyterians. But the Presbyterians were still strong enough to settle the terms which were to be offered to the king. On July 14 the parliamentary propositions were delivered to Charles at Newcastle. He was to surrender the power over the militia to Parliament for twenty years, and he was to rule, as far as he was permitted to rule at

§ 4. Propositions of Parliament.

all, as a Presbyterian king, to take the Covenant himself, and to support the new presbyterian order of things in the Church. Charles had no intention of doing anything of the kind. 'All my endeavours,' he wrote to the queen, 'must be the delaying of my answer till there be considerable parties visibly formed;' in other words, till Presbyterians and Independents had come to blows, and were ready to take him at his own price.

Presbyterians and Independents, however, did not seem inclined to come to blows to please Charles. For six months he declined to give any answer to the propositions. At last the Scots perceived that nothing satisfactory could be got out of him. They intimated to the English Parliament that they were ready to surrender him, and to go home to Scotland. All they wanted now was that the expenses of their campaign should be paid. Four hundred thousand pounds were owing to them for their services in England. Part of the money was paid down at once, and on January 30, 1647, the Scots marched out of Newcastle, leaving Charles in the hands of parliamentary commissioners.

A.D. 1647. Jan. 30. § 5. The Scots surrender the king.

Charles was now lodged at Holmby House, in Northamptonshire, and treated with all outward show of respect. It seemed as if the opportunity for which he had been watching was at last to occur. The Army and the Parliament were beginning to quarrel.

Feb.—June. § 6. Charles at Holmby House.

Knowing its danger from the army, the Presbyterian majority in the Commons suggested that the time had come to disband the army, that strange army, in which every opinion under the sun found refuge, and in which large numbers of soldiers occupied their leisure hours in theological argument or Scriptural exposition. The contemptuous disregard for such doctrines as still prevailed in England was as distasteful to the ruling Presbyterians as the con-

§ 7. Dispute between the Army and the Parliament.

tempt of the Presbyterians for earlier forms had been distasteful to Laud. 'If I should worship the sun or moon, like the Persians,' said one of them, 'or that pewter-pot on the table, nobody has anything to do with it.'

If the Presbyterians had been wise enough to offer to the soldiers the whole of the arrears of the pay due to them, they might perhaps have been able to disband the whole force. Instead of doing this, they irritated those soldiers who cared for their pockets by offering only a small fraction of the money due to them, whilst they irritated those whose minds were set on religious and political reforms by refusing to listen to them. Consequently the whole army declared that it had fought for liberty for its opinions, and refused to allow itself to be disbanded till that liberty was assured.

§ 8. The army the guardian of religious liberty.

The soldiers were the more resolute as Charles and the Presbyterians had been drawing near to one another. On May 12 the king at last accepted the parliamentary propositions, though not without some important modifications. For three years, and three years only, he would allow Presbyterianism, reserving religious liberty for himself. The army determined otherwise. On the evening of June 3 a certain Cornet Joyce, followed by a party of horse, rode up to Holmby House, and on the morning of the 4th asked the king to follow him. Charles inquired for his commission. 'There is my commission,' answered Joyce, pointing to his soldiers drawn up before the window. There was no resisting such an argument, and Charles was safely conducted to Newmarket.

June 4. § 9. The king brought to the army.

The army raised its demands. Eleven leaders of the Presbyterian party, they declared, must be excluded from the House. Helpless in the grasp of the army, the eleven ceased to attend the debates. But the City of London was even more

§ 10. The exclusion of the eleven members.

presbyterian than the Parliament. A City mob burst into the House, ordering the Commons to stand firm against the army. The army took advantage of the tumult. Marching rapidly upon London, the troops took military possession of the City on August 7. The eleven members were summarily got rid of, and many of their presbyterian followers voluntarily withdrew.

§ 11. The army in power.

In his plays of *Richard II.* and *Henry IV.* Shakespeare lays down the conditions and the results of a successful revolution. The incapable ruler who neglects the interests of the nation and thinks only of his own cannot maintain his authority. The work of governing must of necessity be done, and some one more capable than himself must be put in his place. But every violent change brings its own penalty with it. Old habits of obedience are broken off, and the new rule introduced by force is subject to daily questioning, and even to open attack. A rebellion, however justifiable, is the parent of other rebellions perhaps not justifiable at all. So it was now. The sword which had smitten down Charles smote down the House of Commons. The violation of a legislative assembly is no light thing. It is the substitution of the rule of force for that of discussion. Yet if ever it was justifiable it was now. Parliament, which lived by discussion within its own walls, was longing to suppress discussion everywhere else. The army was permeated with discussion from one end to the other. The blow which it struck was on behalf of that freedom of thought and speech without which the supremacy of a Parliament is as despotic as the supremacy of a king.

§ 12. Its proposals to the king.

The army, too, knew well that the hands that wielded the sword could not sway the sceptre also. Its chiefs at once drew up certain heads of proposals, which it offered to the king for his acceptance. They proclaimed complete religious liberty

for all except the Roman Catholics. Those who chose to do so might submit to the jurisdiction of bishops. Those who chose to do so might submit to the jurisdiction of presbyters. But no civil penalties were to be inflicted upon those who objected equally to episcopacy and to presbyterianism.

No proposal so wise and comprehensive had yet been made. It gave to Charles, as it gave to the Presbyterians, all that they could fairly ask. But neither Charles nor even Parliament was prepared for so admirable a settlement, and the leaders of the army withdrew their proposals, hoping to engraft some practical toleration on the original parliamentary propositions. The king thought he saw his opportunity, tried with feeble cunning to play off one set of his opponents against the other, and then, when he found that they preferred a compromise with one another to submission to himself, got on horseback late one evening and galloped southward, finally taking refuge in the Isle of Wight. He was there lodged in Carisbrooke Castle, from which place he wrote to express his readiness to negotiate afresh on the basis of Presbyterianism for three years and a moderate toleration.

Nov. 11. § 13. The king's flight to the Isle of Wight.

SECTION V.—*The Second Civil War and the Execution of the King.*

During the past negotiations the conduct of Cromwell and the army leaders had been masterly. They had seen that, if their object of toleration could be gained in any way whatever, it was better that it should be obtained with the concurrence of Parliament. But this lull in the controversy thus originating between Parliament and army

A.D. 1647. § 1. The king and the Scots.

drove the Scots into despair. If there was to be any sort of toleration at all, they would have nothing more to do with the English Parliament. The Scottish commissioners entered into a secret treaty with Charles by which he bound himself to acknowledge the presbyterian discipline in England for three years, and to suppress the Independents and all other sects. The Scotch, on their part, promised to furnish him with an army to restore him to the throne.

A.D. 1648. April. § 2. Scottish invasion preparing.

In spite of the reluctance of Argyle and other notable Scotchmen, war between Scotland and England was imminent. In April 1648 an army, under the Duke of Hamilton, was ordered to cross the border.

§ 3. Indignation of the English army.

Charles at last got the darling wish of his heart. Two of his enemies were about to fight with one another and he would come by his own. Never was the vanity of human wishes more strongly exemplified. A thrill of angry horror ran through the English army when they learned that, in the midst of negotiations, the perfidy of the king had delivered England up to Scottish Presbyterianism. The soldiers met together to seek the Lord, to wrestle with Him in prayer, that He might reveal to them the cause why such evil had befallen them. Their own minds supplied them with an answer. Their first duty was to fight the enemy. Their second duty, if ever the Lord brought them back in peace, was 'to call Charles Stuart, that man of blood, to an account for that blood he had shed and mischief he had done to his utmost against the Lord's cause and people in these poor nations.'

On every side Royalist insurrections blazed up in anticipation of the arrival of the Scots. South Wales was the first to rise, and Kent was soon in full revolt.

Cromwell hurried down to Wales, Fairfax suppressed the Kentish rising. The main body of the Southern insurgents, crossing the Thames into Essex, threw themselves into Colchester. Fairfax blockaded them there, whilst Cromwell was making ready to deal with the Northern danger.

§ 4. Insurrection in England.

By the middle of July Cromwell had suppressed the Welsh rising, and was marching steadily northwards. On August 17, with 9,000 men, he swooped down at Preston upon the 24,000 men which gathered round Hamilton. After three days' fighting Hamilton's army was swept out of existence. On the 28th Colchester surrendered to Fairfax after a terrible siege. The second civil war had come to a swift end.

Aug. 17.

§ 5. Defeat of the Scots.

Whilst the army had been fighting royalism, the House of Commons had been carrying on negotiations with the king. Presbyterian members, frightened away in the preceding autumn, had come back to their seats, and a renewed Presbyterian majority was the result. As soon as they saw Cromwell well engaged in the war, the Commons issued a fierce ordinance for the suppression of blasphemies and heresies, condemning to death the holders of certain specified opinions, and imposing the penalty of imprisonment on all who held, amongst other things, that Church-government by presbytery was anti-Christian or unlawful.

§ 6. Presbyterianism in the Commons.

Negotiations with the king—the Treaty of Newport, as it was called—were now opened. But even the defeat of his Scotch allies wrung no submission from Charles. He had no mind to come to terms with the parliamentary Presbyterians. His negotiation was all a sham. He had fresh hopes from Ireland, or from Holland; and he had returned to his old game of arguing much and concluding nothing.

§ 7. The Treaty of Newport

To that game the victorious army had determined to put an end. England must be brought under a settled government; and a settled government, with Charles to stir up discord against every element in the State in turn, was a sheer impossibility. In a long statement of their case the soldiers laid down that a king was but the highest functionary of the State, and that if he deliberately abused his trust he was liable to be called to account. It was evident that Charles could be bound by no ties, that he regarded the nation as his own, to deal with as he pleased. They demanded, therefore, that the king should be brought to justice.

Nov. 20. § 8. The army remonstrance.

In such a mood the soldiers were not likely to trust much to Parliament. Their first move was to gain possession of the king's person. Charles was removed from Carisbrooke and safely lodged at Hurst Castle, a desolate spot at the end of a spit of land running out into the sea. For a moment Charles fancied that murder was intended. He was not in the hands of murderers.

Dec. 1. § 9. The king at Hurst Castle.

The next step of the army was to overcome the resistance of Parliament. On December 5 the Commons declared for a reconciliation with the king; in other words, for endangering all the valuable results of the civil war. The next morning was the morning of Pride's Purge. Colonel Pride was stationed at the door of the House, to turn back such members as were displeasing to the army leaders. In all more than 140 members were excluded, and the House became a mere instrument for the time in the hands of the army. It was but the residue of a House, the number still voting being about fifty or sixty. Such a House was sure to be compliant. On the 13th a resolution was passed that the king should be brought to justice. He was already on the road to Windsor under a strong guard.

Dec. 6. § 10. Pride's Purge.

§ 11. The king at Windsor.

On the first day of the new year a High Court of Justice was appointed by the Commons for the trial of the king, the Lords refusing to take any part in the act. On the 4th the Commons declared that the People were, under God, the source of all just power, and that the Commons, being chosen by the people, formed the supreme power in England, and had no need of the concurrence of king or House of Lords. The principle of national sovereignty was surely never declared by a less representative body. In accordance with this resolution the High Court of Justice was finally constituted on the 9th by the authority of the Commons alone.

A.D. 1649. § 12. The High Court of Justice.

On January 20 Charles was brought to Whitehall. The next morning his trial commenced. Of 135 members of the court only sixty-seven, Cromwell being one of them, were present. When Fairfax's name was called his wife cried out, 'He is not here, and will never be; you do wrong to name him.' To the charge brought the king replied by simply denying the authority of the court. As he refused to plead, the trial was reduced to a mere formality. On the 27th the King of England was sentenced to death.

Jan. 20. § 13. Trial of the king.

On the 30th the sentence was carried into execution. He took leave of his two youngest children who alone were still in England. Then he stepped firmly on the scaffold, outside the window, laid his head upon the block, and all was over.

Jan. 30. § 14. The execution.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE COMMONWEALTH.

SECTION I.—*Cromwell's Last Victories.*

§ 1. Charles's view of his own authority.

NOTHING in Charles's life became him like the manner in which he left it. His own conviction of the justice of his cause had been so thorough that he had seen even in the underhand intrigues which led to his ruin nothing but legitimate weapons to be used in defence of the nation whose happiness was in his eyes inextricably bound up with his own authority. His opinion was clearly expressed in those lines of the Roman poet of the declining empire which Charles wrote in a book not long before his death, as a testimony against the levelling and anti-monarchic spirits which predominated at that time: 'He is deceived who thinks that there can be slavery under an excellent prince. There is no fairer form of liberty than under a pious king.'

§ 2. The proceeding against him illegal.

Against this notion the leaders in the army had uttered their protest. They thought to emphasise their words by the blow on the scaffold at Whitehall. If any political crime committed with good intentions deserves the extreme penalty of the law, Charles had deserved that penalty by his long course of deception. But it was not from the law that Charles had suffered. Legal tribunals are not infallible. But they are composed in such a way as to secure as much impartiality as possible, and are accustomed to act according to certain rules which offenders are aware of in advance. To reach Charles the army leaders were obliged to overturn the House of Commons, to pass over the resistance of the

House of Lords, and to nominate a new tribunal to decide by rules hitherto unknown. That which was done would have been just as legal if the officers had brought Charles before a court-martial, and ordered out a platoon of infantry to shoot him.

Never was any army more desirous of escaping from the necessity of using brute force than this one. The cause which it sustained was the right cause, and it sustained it worthily with the pen as well as with the sword. But they could not endure that all their sacrifices should go for nothing; that foolish, unwise prejudices should have the upper hand; that Parliament should declare for Charles in the absurd expectation that he would rule otherwise than he had ruled before. If only Charles's head were off, justice would be done, and men's minds would no longer be set on so ridiculous a quest as that of a Presbyterian Charles I. Not so! That which seemed to end all ended nothing. Brute force had been put forth, and that was all. It was bad enough to contend with the elements of confusion which had gathered round Charles. It would be worse to contend with them when the narrow-minded and self-willed prince had been elevated to the position of a saint and a martyr, and when the defence of violated law, and the maintenance of popular rights against the iron will of a triumphant soldiery, came to be the watchword of the followers of Charles II.

§ 3. The objection not merely formal.

For the moment a government was established. The Commonwealth of England took the place of the Kingdom of England. A Council of State, composed of forty leading parliamentary officials and military personages, exercised the executive power. The House of Lords had already ceased to exist. The fragment of the House of Commons—the numbers of those present at any one sitting seldom

§ 4. Establishment of the Commonwealth.

exceeding fifty—played the part of a Parliament. In quiet times such a burlesque on parliamentary government could not have lasted long; and a real elected House of Commons was amongst the ideals of the army. But the times were not quiet. Englishmen favourable to the Commonwealth were divided into parties hostile to one another, and there was fighting enough in prospect to make the leaders of the army disinclined at present to tamper further with the constitution. Wild ideas were seething in the ranks; but an attempt to mutiny in their favour was suppressed by the iron hand of Cromwell.

Cromwell was first called to Ireland. Ever since the massacre of 1641 Ireland had been the scene of anarchy and slaughter. The Royalists were now combined in an alliance with the native Roman Catholic population against the parliamentary forces cooped up in Dublin. If Dublin fell, an independent government would be established which might hold out the hand to the English Royalists. On August 15, Cromwell landed at Dublin. On September 11, he stormed Drogheda. Quarter was refused, and 2,000 men with arms in their hands were put to the sword. Even Cromwell felt a half-suspicion that some excuse was needed, though the refusal of quarter had been a matter of everyday occurrence in the German war, and had been not without precedent even in England. 'I am persuaded,' he wrote, 'that this is a righteous judgment of God upon these barbarous wretches, who have imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood; and that it will tend to prevent the effusion of blood for the future: which are the satisfactory grounds to such actions, which otherwise cannot but work remorse and regret.' The massacre of Drogheda was but the beginning of victory. At Wexford there was another slaughter, this time without orders from the general. Town after town surren-

Aug. 15. § 5. Cromwell in Ireland.

dered. In the next spring Cromwell was able to quit Ireland, leaving what work remained to be done to be accomplished by his successors. The conquest was prosecuted with savage effectiveness, and when at last, in 1652, the war came to an end, three out of four provinces of Ireland were confiscated for the benefit of the conquering race. The landowners of Ireland were driven from their homes, to find what sustenance they could in the wilds of Connaught.

It was time for Cromwell to be back in England. The young Commonwealth was looked upon askance by the European Powers. One of its ambassadors was murdered by English Royalists at the Hague. Another was murdered at Madrid with general applause. Montrose, who was living in exile, started once more for his native country on a mission of vengeance for his slain master. In the spring of 1650 he landed in the Orkneys. Crossing to Caithness he found no one prepared to rise in his behalf. It may be that there was no jealousy of Argyle so far north, and no enthusiasm for the king. At any rate, he was overpowered, carried to Edinburgh, and hanged as a rebel.

A.D. 1650. §6. Montrose in Scotland.

If the Scots would not tolerate Montrose, they had not given up their own idea of living under a Presbyterian king. They proclaimed the young prince—Charles II., as they called him—king, and invited him to Scotland. Much against his will he swore to the Covenant. On June 24 he landed in Scotland. The idea of Charles II. as a Covenanting king seems absurd enough now that his character is known. He was then but a lad, and the Scotch ministers thought they could mould him to their wishes. Cromwell had not gained much by executing one Charles. Another Charles was there, with a whole Scottish nation behind his back, and with a large part of the English nation

June 24. §7. Charles II. in Scotland.

ready to support him, if it could be done with safety. The head of one man was off his shoulders; but the sentiment which had made that man powerful had not been eradicated.

§ 8. Cromwell in Scotland.

Cromwell hastened to Scotland to nip the mischief in the bud. Fairfax with all friendliness declined to go. He did not see, he said, why the Scotch had not a right to settle their own government as they pleased. On July 22 the army crossed the border. On the 28th it was before Edinburgh. But the Scottish army was entrenched in front, too strongly posted to be attacked. Cromwell had to retreat to save his men from starvation. He lingered as long as he could, but, on August 31, he marched back to Dunbar.

Sept. 3. § 9. Battle of Dunbar.

His prospects now were forlorn enough. The Scotch had seized the pass through which the road led to England. On one side of him was the sea, on the other a long hill, now crowned with the Scottish army. Escape seemed difficult, wellnigh hopeless. But the Scots were weary of waiting. On September 2 they began to descend the hill. Oliver saw his advantage. Next morning as they lay below he charged them in front and flank, dashed them into sheer confusion, and drove them into a narrow pass from which there was no escape. 'Let God arise, let His enemies be scattered!' were the words which rose to the lips of the victor. The Scottish army was utterly ruined.

§ 10. Cromwell at Edinburgh.

Cromwell was soon at Edinburgh, pleading scornfully and yet half-tenderly with the Presbyterian ministers. A large part of Scotland submitted to him. But there was still an army in the field which refused to submit, and during the winter and spring that army gathered strength.

In August the Scottish leaders resolved to push for England. An English insurrection in Cromwell's rear

would make his position in Scotland untenable. With the young king in their midst, and Cromwell hard upon their heels, they marched doggedly southwards. Their hopes were disappointed. The fear of Cromwell kept those at home whose hearts were beating to join the Scots. Almost unaided the invaders struggled on till they reached Worcester. There Cromwell overtook them. Slaughter or capture was the lot of that doomed army. 'The dimensions of this mercy,' wrote Cromwell, 'are above my thoughts. It is, for aught I know, a crowning mercy.' He spoke truly. Never again was he called upon to draw sword in England.

A.D. 1651. § 11. Battle of Worcester.

Cromwell was at least spared the anxiety of deciding what was to be done with a second royal prisoner. Charles threw himself upon the loyalty of a Royalist gentleman in the neighbourhood, and he was not deceived. In after days men told how he had been seated in the branches of an oak whilst the troopers who were searching for him rode below. Dressed as a servant he rode to Bristol, with a lady riding on a pillion behind. At Charmouth he hoped to find a vessel to carry him to France. But the master of the ship refused to go. It was not till he reached Brighton, then a small fishing village, that he found the help that he wanted, and made his escape from England in safety.

§ 12. Escape of Charles II.

SECTION II.—*The Dissolution of the Long Parliament*

'Peace,' sung Milton, in his sonnet to Cromwell, 'hath her victories no less renowned than war.' Peace, too, has her forlorn hopes, her stout battling for a cause lost by anticipation, and destined only to reappear in other days when the standard shall have been entrusted to arms more fortunate if not more stalwart Cromwell and the higher

§ 1. The work of the Revolution accomplished.

officers in the army, Sir Henry Vane and the nobler spirits yet remaining in the Parliament, were alike bent upon realising the same high object—a free state governed in accordance with the resolutions of its elected representatives, and offering guarantees for liberty of thought and speech, without which parliamentary government is only another name for tyranny. But their powers were not equal to their wishes. Now that the Parliament which had carried all before it had not merely dwindled to a fraction of its former numbers, but had split up into coteries, there was little energy for reform remaining. The original feeling of the nation had been not against royalty, but against the particular way in which the king had acted; and the necessity for dethronement and the supposed necessity for execution had been founded upon reasoning which had never stirred the popular heart. The nation did not really care for a commonwealth, or for religious liberty. Most Englishmen would have been content if they could have got a king who would have shown some reasonable respect for the wishes of Parliament, and who would abstain from open illegality. Though the nation as a whole was not alienated by the violent suppression of episcopalian worship, as it had been alienated by Laud's injudicious resuscitation of obsolete forms, it was all the more tired of an inefficient government, because that government ultimately rested on the power of the sword.

§ 2. Ideas of the leaders of the Commonwealth.

In short, the leaders of the Commonwealth found themselves in much the same position as that in which Laud found himself in 1629. They had an ideal of their own which they believed to be really good for the nation, and they hoped that by habituating the nation to that which they thought best they could at last bring it to a right frame of mind. Their experiment broke

down not because they were wrong, but because the nation was not as yet ripe for acceptance of anything so good.

A.D. 1652. § 3. Scheme for a new Parliament.

The difference of opinion which slowly grew up between army leaders and Parliamentary leaders was only the natural result of the tacit acknowledgment of this rock ahead, which was none the less felt because both parties shrunk from avowing it. A free Parliament would perhaps be a Royalist Parliament. In that case, it would probably care nothing about liberty, and would certainly care nothing about Puritanism. How was the danger to be met? The fifty or sixty men who called themselves a Parliament had their own remedy for the disease. Let there be new elections to the vacant seats, but let their own seats not be vacated. Let these old members have power to reject such new members as seemed to them unfit to serve in Parliament. There would be something that looked like a free Parliament, and yet it would not be a free Parliament at all. Those only would be admitted who were thought by the old members to be the right sort of persons to influence the nation.

§ 4. Cromwell's objections.

The scheme, in fact, was a sham, and Cromwell disliked shams. He had another objection equally strong. If there was one thing for which he and his soldiers had fought and bled, it was for the sake of religious liberty, a liberty which was real enough as far as it went, even if it was much less comprehensive than that which has been accepted in later times. No security was offered for religious liberty under the new-old Parliament. There was nothing to prevent it from abolishing all that existed at any moment it pleased.

As often happens, moral repugnance came to the help of logical reasoning. Not a few of the members of Parliament were conducting themselves in such a way as to forfeit the

respect of all honest men. Against foreign foes, indeed, the Commonwealth had been successful. The navy reorganised by Vane had cleared the seas of Royalist privateers. Commercial jealousy against the Dutch had mingled with the tide of political ill-feeling. In 1651 the Navigation Act was aimed at the Dutch carrying trade, which had flourished simply because the Dutch vessels were better built and long experience had enabled them to transport goods from one country to another more cheaply than the merchants of other nations. Henceforth English vessels alone were to be allowed to import goods into England, excepting in the case of vessels belonging to the country in which the goods were produced.

A.D. 1651. § 5. The Dutch war. Navigation Act.

Other questions were in dispute, and in May 1652 the refusal of the Dutch Admiral Tromp to strike his flag to Blake in acknowledgment of the English claim to the sovereignty of the British seas was answered by cannon-shot. The two antagonists were well matched, but on the whole the English had the upper hand.

A.D. 1652. § 6. War with the Dutch.

Such a war was expensive. Fresh batches of royalists were forced to compound for their estates. Even if this measure had been fairly carried out the attempt to make one part of the nation pay for the expenses of the whole was more likely to create dissension than to heal it. But it was not fairly carried out. Members of Parliament took bribes to let off the wealthy more easily than those who were less able to pay. The effects of unlimited power were daily becoming more manifest. To be the son or a nephew of one of the holders of authority was a sure passport to the public service. Forms of justice were disregarded, and even those who were not themselves sufferers, were alienated by the spectacle.

§ 7. Corruption in Parliament.

Of this dissatisfaction Cromwell constituted himself the mouthpiece. His remedy for the evil which both sides dreaded was not the perpetuation of a Parliament which did not represent the nation, but the establishment of a temporary government which should hold office without a Parliament to discuss and agree on the remedy for existing evils. He and his officers proposed that a committee formed of members of Parliament and officers should be nominated with this object.

A.D. 1653. § 8. Cromwell's plan.

On April 19 he was assured or believed himself to be assured by one of the leading members that nothing would be done in a hurry. On the morning of the 20th he was told that Parliament was hurriedly passing its own bill in defiance of his objections. Going at once to the House, he waited till the decisive question was put to the vote. Then he rose. The Parliament, he said, had done well in their pains and care for the public good. But it had been stained with 'injustice, delays of justice, self-interest.' Then, when a member interrupted him, he blazed up into anger. 'Come, come! we have had enough of this. I will put an end to this. It is not fit you should sit here any longer.' Calling in his soldiers, he bade them clear the House, following the members with words of obloquy as they were driven out. 'What shall we do with this bauble?' he said, taking up the mace. 'Take it away.' Then, as if feeling the burthen of the work which he was doing pressing upon him, he sought to excuse himself, as he had sought to excuse himself after the slaughter of Drogheda. 'It is you,' he said, 'that have forced me to do this. I have sought the Lord night and day, that he would rather slay me than put me upon the doing of this work.'

April 20. § 9. Dissolution of the Long Parliament.

SECTION III.—*The Assembly of Nominees.*

Every political institution which England possessed was now levelled with the ground. King, Lords, and Commons had fallen, as Cromwell explained, because they had failed to perform their trust. In every case the judgment had been delivered not by the nation but by the army. In the eyes of the army leaders a sort of Divine right attached to their actions. God, they held, 'by their victories, had so called them to look after the government of the land, and so entrusted them with the welfare of all His people here, that they were responsible for it, and might not in conscience stand still while anything was done which they thought was against the interest of the people of God.'

§ 1. Views of the Army.

How would this power be exercised? Was the army to aim only at maintaining liberty of conscience; or was it also to aim at giving effect in other matters to the views of the few at the expense of the wishes of the many? At least it had no thought of grasping political power itself. In the name of the General and the Council of officers, a body of 140 nominees were gathered together, called afterwards, in derision, Barebone's Parliament, from the name of one Praise-God Barebone who sat in it. The men were not mere fanatics, but they were most of them of a strongly Puritan character, many of them being foremost amongst the leading sects. In the speech which Cromwell addressed to them he dwelt at length on their qualifications as godly men. It was not now to prepare a constitution that they had come together. They were to rule England simply on the grounds of their godliness. The time might come when an elective Parliament would take their place, when the people were fitted by God to elect and to be elected 'Would all were the Lord's

July 4. § 2. The nominees.

people!' When they were, there would be no further difficulty about elections.

It was Cromwell's ideal; men were to be excluded from all part in government till they were fit to take part in it, an ideal not altogether dissimilar from that of Charles and Strafford. It was destined to a rude awakening. The godly men turned out the most crotchety and unpractical set ever gathered together. They had no experience of political life, no sympathy for the commonplace, unideal men who form the bulk of the community. They proposed to abolish the Court of Chancery, without substituting any other tribunal for it, and to suppress the payment of tithes without providing any other means of support for the clergy. In a few months the Assembly had become as unpopular as the Long Parliament. Law and order, it seemed, were to be offered up a sacrifice to a handful of dreamers. It would be well if the worst had now been told. Fifth Monarchy men, as they were called, seriously declared that the time had come for the reign of the saints to begin, and that they were the saints to rule. All men who had anything to lose, especially the clergy and the lawyers, turned their eyes upon Cromwell. For it was known that Cromwell's strong common sense would preserve him from the extravagances which swept away lighter heads.

§ 3. Proceedings of the Assembly.

In the Assembly itself the party of resistance formed a strong minority. One day in December the minority got up early in the morning, came down to the House, and before their opponents knew what they were about, resigned their powers into the hands of Cromwell. The political institutions of the nation had been swept away. But the social institutions were less easily touched. At a later time, a long course of abuses festering in the very heart of society

Dec. 11. § 4. Resignation of the Assembly.

itself, stirred up the French nation to a revolution which left no time-honoured principle unassailed, no established arrangement unquestioned. Centuries of fairly good government in England had naturally resulted in no such feeling. The majority of the Assembly were doubtless right in pointing to real abuses. But they wanted to do in a few weeks hurriedly and ignorantly a work which it would take years of the most accurate knowledge and the most patient enquiry to accomplish. They forgot that it is not enough to mean well in order to do well. The nominees sank again into private life as little regretted by the nation as the Long Parliament had been regretted before them.

CHAPTER IX.

OLIVER'S PROTECTORATE.

SECTION I.—*Oliver's First Parliament.*

AMONGST the leading officers there had, doubtless, been aknowledge of what was coming. On December 16 they drew up an Instrument of Government, a Constitution, as we should say. The idea of temporarily superseding the representatives of the nation was dropped. There was to be again an elected Parliament, consisting of one House. But there were two lessons taught by the history of the Long Parliament, which had not been forgotten by the officers. In the first place, a large assembly cannot profitably govern directly. In the second place, there are certain rights, such as those of mental and religious freedom, which ought to be beyond the power of any government to overthrow. The time would come when these principles would enter into the constitutional habits of the nation. As yet it was difficult to teach Parlia-

Dec. 16.

§ 1. The difficulties of the situation.

ments the needful lesson; and the instruction was all the more difficult because the ideas which the officers wished to prevail were only the ideas of a minority of the nation. To institute an executive Government responsible to Parliament would be to expose it to be called upon to become the instrument of religious-tyranny.

§ 2. The Instrument of Government.

The executive power, therefore, was lodged in Cromwell as Lord Protector, a title which had been borne in old days by regents, who had governed in the time of a king who was a minor. He was bound to consult the Council of State, in the nomination of which he was to have but little part. The Parliament, on the other hand, granted supplies and levied taxes. Though the Protector could issue temporary ordinances before the first session, he was bound to lay them before Parliament when it met and to obtain its assent to their continuance. Parliament, too, could make laws whether the Protector approved of them or not, though, on the other hand, there were certain subjects, such as religious liberty, on which it was not permitted to make laws at all. It was to meet once in three years, and, when it had once met, till five months were passed the Protector could neither dissolve it nor prorogue it.

§ 3. The first written constitution.

The Instrument of Government was the first of hundreds of written constitutions which have since spread over the world, of which the American is the most conspicuous example, in which a barrier is set up against the entire predominance of any one set of official persons, by attributing strictly limited functions to each. The Protector, the Council of State, and the Parliament each had his or their recognised sphere of action; yet each needed the co-operation of the other. In America provision is made, by the necessity which the president is under of leaving office at the

end of four years, for an appeal to the people to decide in the last instance between the president and the legislative body, if they have otherwise been unable to come to an agreement. Not only was there no similar provision in the Instrument of Government, but the Protector and Council were authorised to raise taxes without consent of Parliament, sufficient to carry on the Government in quiet times. Such a fault in the constitution was not attributable to any mere defect in the wording of the Instrument. It grew out of the necessities of the situation. There was an honourable desire on the part of the framers of the Constitution that government should be carried on in accordance with the wishes of the representatives of the people. There was an equally honourable desire to maintain the actual administration of government in the hands of men of proved capacity, and to save the great principle of toleration from the shipwreck to which it was inevitably destined if, in those days, it was to depend upon the votes of a popular assembly.

A.D. 1654. § 4. Oliver's Government.

Those who were anxious to avert a collision between the Government and the future Parliament might hope that the character of the new Government would count for something. The nine months which intervened between Oliver's elevation to the protectorate and the meeting of Parliament were spent in intelligent and fruitful work. An end was put, on honourable terms, to the war with the Dutch, and England was once more at peace with the world. By a provision of the Instrument the Protector was empowered to issue ordinances valid till they had been examined by Parliament In this way provision was made for those difficulties which had thrown an apple of discord into the midst of the Assembly of Nominees. Chancery was reformed, and not abolished; arrangements were made for securing an able and efficient clergy, without inquisi-

tion into opinion, so long, at least, as that opinion was Puritan, and without throwing the clergy for its support on the voluntary offerings of a population too often steeped in ignorance and vice.

If much was to be hoped for from the excellence of the Government, something, too, might be looked for from the constitution of Parliament itself. For the first time members sat in it for Scotland and Ireland, and a redistribution of seats had made the House a fairer reflection of the wishes of the nation than it had been before. Such changes were likely to have but little influence on the special controversy of the day. The arrangement of immediate importance was the exclusion, for twelve years, of all persons who had in any way assisted the king, that is to say, of the old Episcopalian royalists, and of the new Presbyterian royalists as well. It might be expected that a House elected on these terms would be willing to co-operate with the Protector.

§ 5. Constitution of Parliament.

Parliament met on September 3, the day of Dunbar and Worcester. The parliamentary instinct was strong in this assembly. It at once called in question the Instrument of Government. It had no wish to overthrow the Protector. But it demanded that the terms of the constitution should be settled by itself, and that the Protector should act under limitations imposed upon his office by Parliament.

Sept. 3. § 6. Parliamentary opposition.

It was no merely theoretical constitutional difference. Oliver was good, and his government was good, but he owed his position to military force. If military force was to settle affairs of government rightly to-day, it might settle them wrongly to-morrow. England would for ever be at the mercy of those who held the sword. Cromwell, nevertheless, had something to say for himself. If Parliament settled things

Sept. 12. § 7. Oliver's interference.

rightly to-day, it too might settle them wrongly to-morrow. If it was to do as it pleased in matters of religion, toleration would, at least when the twelve years of exclusion were over, be abandoned by a large majority. Between these two positions there was no middle term attainable then. The only possible solution lay in the frank acknowledgment that if the nation has thoroughly made up its mind to do wrong it cannot be prevented from doing so, and must be allowed to learn wisdom from experience. Such an acknowledgment was impossible for Oliver. He well knew that as a whole the nation cared nothing for toleration, nothing, perhaps, by this time, for Puritanism itself. By one of the clauses of the Instrument the electorate was bound to give security that its member would do nothing to alter the Government as settled in a single-person and Parliament. Oliver now called on the members to acknowledge the obligation taken for them, and excluded from the House all who refused to do so.

If the principal condition of the Instrument was raised above debate, the minor conditions were still assailable. In spite of the exclusion of the republicans, the House maintained its view that Parliament was the central point round which the constitution turned, though it was ready to accord substantial power to the Protector and Council. One of the changes it proposed was that the Councillors should be appointed by the Protector, with the approbation of Parliament, and should submit themselves again to that approbation at the meeting of each triennial Parliament, thus realising the demand for a responsible ministry set forth in the Grand Remonstrance. The great difficulty, however, lay in arranging for the control of the army. The Protector, having the right to raise money without Parliamentary consent for the 30,000 men

A.D. 1655. Jan. 22. § 8. Dissolution.

allowed him by the Instrument, wished that Parliament should make provision for the further numbers required to meet present dangers. Parliament asked that the extraordinary troops should consist of militia under the local authorities and not of regiments of the standing army, and refused to grant the money needed for the 30,000 men for more than five years. Oliver, who saw that this would make Parliament—then consisting of a single house—supreme, and able to do what it pleased in all directions, when the five years were over, could bear it no longer. He was bound by the Instrument to allow Parliament to sit for five months. He interpreted the article to mean five lunar months, and on January 22, when those came to an end, dissolved Parliament.

Section II.—*The Major-Generals.*

§ 1. Toleration by force.

Toleration was maintained in France by the will of a Richelieu or a Mazarin, without taking root in the instincts of the nation, and something of the same kind seemed likely to happen in England.

§ 2. Resistance to Oliver.

Happily there was present to Englishmen the instinct or consciousness—call it what you will—that it was better for a nation to blunder on, making mistakes as it goes, than to have the most excellent arrangements forced upon it by external violence. Nor must it be forgotten that Cromwell never acknowledged that the old Church worship was anything more than a superstition, to be contemptuously allowed permission here and there to gather itself into private houses and secret meeting places without open check, but not to be permitted to step forward into the light of day. An abiding sense of wrong stirred up the indignation of men who had looked back with regret to the Church observances which had been familiar to them in

youth, whilst there were hundreds who contrasted the tone and language of the new clergy with the measured devotion of the Book of Common Prayer, altogether to the advantage of the latter. Church and king, the old religious forms, and the old political institutions came to be inextricably fused together in the minds of large numbers of the country gentry with a vague and inarticulate sense of wrong being done to England by the openly avowed attempt to drive her by force when argument made no impression. There was a breadth of view and a keenness of vision in Oliver which had no parallel in Charles, and the principle of averting doctrinal tyranny by liberty was as right as the principle of averting it by ceremonial uniformity was wrong. But the resolution to drive those who would not be guided was the same in both, and the result to which it led in Oliver's case was as disastrous as it had been in the case of Charles.

At Salisbury the seething discontent actually burst into a flame. A gentleman named Penruddock, with a force of some two hundred followers, marched into the city, and seized the judges who had just come down for the assizes. The insurgents were soon seized and the movement suppressed. Oliver knew that if the rising was nothing in itself it was a symptom of a dangerous and widely spread hostility to his government.

March 11. § 3. Penruddock's rising.

Oliver took instant measures of repression. He divided England into eleven military districts. Over each he set a Major-General to preserve order, with the assistance of a new militia. The expenses were to be paid by the Royalists, whose disaffection seemed to him to have made the arrangement necessary. Ten per cent. was levied upon their incomes, by the Protector's orders. Military rule was developing

§ 4. Major-Generals appointed.

itself more clearly every day. Everywhere soldiers were at hand, enforcing obedience. What was likely to rouse more general opposition than the fining of the Royalists was the attempt to use the Major-Generals to enforce the social and moral reforms, at which much Puritan legislation had been aimed. Ale-houses were closed, bears kept for bear-baiting, and cocks for cock-fighting killed, and innkeepers prohibited from taking in travellers on Saturday evening unless they would engage themselves not to leave the house till Monday morning, except to attend divine worship. On the other hand, cruelty, and insult, usually more provoking than cruelty, were sedulously avoided. Leniency, wherever leniency was possible, was the rule of the Protector's action, and if there were many who were exasperated by the mode in which resistance was suppressed and by the trammels to which their daily life was subjected, there were others who recognised the good intentions of the Government, and were thankful to the Protector for the substantial justice which he tried to afford to all.

In one direction Oliver departed from his policy of toleration. He had made up his mind that the Common Prayer Book was the rallying point of disaffection. On November he issued orders to prohibit its use. It is true that the proclamation was not rigorously enforced, and that zealous congregations continued to meet in private. 'I went to London,' wrote Evelyn, a country gentleman of studious and literary tastes, 'to receive the blessed Sacrament, the first time the Church of England was reduced to a chamber and conventicle, so sharp was the persecution.' A few weeks later he notes that 'there was now nothing practical preached or that pressed reformation of life, but high and speculative points and strains that few understood, which left people very

Nov. 27. § 5. Episcopalian worship suppressed.

ignorant and of no steady principles, the source of all our sects and divisions, for there was much envy and uncharity in the world; God of his mercy amend it!' Persecution there was also for the 'Quakers,' who were commonly held to be blasphemers, and who roused a storm of indignation by refusing to take off their hats in the presence of a magistrate, and by interrupting preachers with challenges to dispute, and assailed them with contumacious epithets. In the main, however, Oliver's penalties were reserved for those who questioned in any way the authority of the State. Toleration was, on the other hand, tacitly granted to the Jews, and even the Roman Catholics, though still mulcted in their purses, were little interfered with in their worship, provided that it was not ostentatiously practised.

§ 6. Quarrel with Spain.

The principles which prevailed in Oliver's domestic government gave the tone to his foreign policy. In the great contest which was going on between France and Spain, he saw a quarrel between a tolerant and an intolerant nation. With Spain he had a quarrel of his own. Her claim to exclude English trade and colonisation from America was as strongly maintained as ever. When Cromwell asked for freedom of trade with English settlements in the West Indies, and for the exemption of English merchants and sailors from the jurisdiction of the Inquisition, the Spanish ambassador flatly rejected his demand. 'It is to ask,' he said, 'for my master's two eyes.' Oliver fired up into indignation. He sent out Penn and Venables to the West Indies to seize San Domingo, and he also sent Blake, the great sea-captain, into the Mediterranean to demand reparation from the Algiers and Tunis pirates who had been preying upon English commerce.

The negotiations with France received a sudden check. News reached England that the Duke of Savoy

had been perscuting his Vaudois subjects, whose Protestantism reached back to an earlier date than the Reformation. Troops had been sent into the valleys where they lived, those who escaped from the sword being driven into the snowclad mountains to perish of cold and hunger.

§ 7. The massacre in Piedmont.

Milton's prayer rose to heaven :—

Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughtered saints, whose bones
Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold;
Even them who kept thy truth so pure of old,
When all our fathers worshipped stocks and stones,
Forget not: in thy book record their groans,
Who were thy sheep, and in their ancient fold,
Slain by the bloody Piedmontese, that rolled
Mother with infant down the rocks. Their moans
The vales redoubled to the hills, and they
To heaven. Their martyred blood and ashes sow
O'er all the Italian fields, where still doth sway
The triple tyrant, that from these may grow
A hundredfold, who, having learnt thy way,
Early may fly the Babylonian woe.

Milton's prayer remained unanswered. The saints remained unavenged. Italy remained unconverted. But Cromwell took good care that the barbarity should not be repeated. France was plainly told that if it wished for the English alliance this persecution must stop. The King of France put a pressure on the Duke of Savoy, and liberty of worship was conceded to the Vaudois.

The war with Spain was conducted with singular courage and ability. If Penn and Venables failed at San Domingo, they secured Jamaica. Blake, having dashed into Porto Farina and burned the pirate vessels in spite of the protection of the forts, was ordered to proceed to the coast of Spain, to pounce, if possible, upon the fleet which brought home to Europe the yearly produce of the American silver mines, and to do what mischief he could. For some time the results were not apparent; but Blake held his own at sea, and the Spanish fleet dared not come out to meet him.

§ 8. War with Spain.

Section III.—*Oliver's Second Parliament.*

War is expensive, and though Oliver had hitherto levied taxes by his own unsupported authority, a deficit of £800,000 made him anxious to obtain Parliamentary assent to the fresh burden which it would be necessary to lay upon the nation. Though he could dispense with Parliaments as readily as Charles, he had not Charles's indifference to the weakness caused by the want of Parliamentary support. He knew how hard the work was which he had been set to do, and knowing as he did that he could not save the nation,—only help the nation to save itself,—he turned wistfully, half wearily, in his thoughts, to that great representative body whose co-operation he desired. Once more he summoned a Parliament.

A.D. 1656. Sept 17. § 1. The new Parliament.

On September 17, 1656, he opened the session with a speech, in which he laid bare his thoughts about England. He defended the war against Spain, defended too his promptness of action in suppressing domestic broils. But it was when he came to speak of his principles of action that his heart was revealed. 'Our practice,' he said, 'since the last Parliament hath been, to let all this nation see that whatever pretensions to religion would continue quiet, peaceable, they should enjoy conscience and liberty to themselves; and not to make religion a pretence for arms and blood.' After all that had passed, it was impossible for Oliver to look with equal eyes upon the whole range of Christian life and thought. To him the 'Cavalier interest' was but 'the badge and character of countenancing profaneness, disorder, and wickedness in all places, and whatever is most of kin to these and what is Popery, and with the profane

§ 2. Oliver's opening speech.

nobility of this nation.' The old attacks upon Puritanism were bitterly remembered—'In my conscience it was a shame to be a Christian, within these fifteen, sixteen, or seventeen years, in this nation. It was a shame, it was a reproach to a man; and the badge of Puritan was put upon it.' Then followed words of warning—'Make it a shame to see men bold in sin and profaneness, and God will bless you. You will be a blessing to the nation; and by this will be more repairs of breaches than by anything in the world. Truly these things do respect the souls of men, and the spirits,—which are the men. The mind is the man! If that be kept pure, a man signifies somewhat; if not, I would fain see what difference there is betwixt him and a beast. He hath only some activity to do some more mischief.' The whole spirit of Puritanism lay in these words. Milton's 'Comus' was there translated into action. The weakness of Puritanism was doubtless there too, its incapacity to conceive that men of another stamp might grow in spiritual life in quite another way, and its consequent failure to appreciate the motives by which large numbers of Englishmen had been trained to virtue by the influence of habitual devotion in its ceremonial form.

It was not to such that Oliver spoke. They were excluded from his Parliament, and others were excluded too. About a hundred, one-fourth of the assembly, were refused admittance. It was not to know the nation's mind that Oliver had called this Parliament, but to find amongst the nation those who would support him in carrying out his ideal of government.

§ 3. Exclusion of members.

Oliver's second Parliament thus purified was more disposed to support him than his first had been. Before long, news came which must have gone far to strengthen his authority. Stayner, with part of Blake's fleet, had fallen in with

§ 4. Capture of a Spanish fleet.

the Spanish treasure ships and had captured the costly prize. Before long, thirty-eight waggons laden with Spanish silver rolled through the streets of London to the Tower.

The relations between Protector and Parliament were smooth enough. Money was voted, and Oliver in return withdrew the Major-Generals. Then came a plot, by no means the first, for the murder of the Protector, the detection of which roused the Parliament to a sense of the insecurity of the government, all resting on the single life of Oliver. The Protector, on his part, had reasons for desiring a change. Parliament had been doing things which renewed his old dread of the despotism of a single House. One James Nayler, a mad or half-mad fanatic, had allowed himself to be worshipped at Bristol and in the West of England. Parliament took up the case, ordered him to be whipped, branded, bored through the tongue, and so forth. Oliver interfered with protest. But his legal power was slight, and he was likely to welcome any change which would stop a representative assembly from assuming the functions of a judge.

A.D. 1657. Jan. § 5. Nayler's case.

After long debate, an amended constitution was voted by Parliament. It is not strange if the remedy for the various evils which were dreaded was sought in some return to the lines of the old Constitution. There was to be a second House to revise the decisions of that which would be once more the House of Commons. The Council of State went into the old subordinate position of the Privy Council, and though the exclusion of the Royalists was maintained, the power of excluding from either House members who had been duly elected was taken from the Protector. Oliver had the right of naming his own successor, and a fixed and permanent sum was granted to him for the maintenance of the

§ 6. The Petition and Advice.

army and navy. Toleration for all peaceable Christians was incorporated with the Constitution, but from this toleration Episcopalians and Roman Catholics were excluded.

Thus far the acknowledged difficulties of the political situation had led to a drawing back towards the old constitutional forms. A new House of Lords would serve as a check upon the despotic tendencies of the House of Commons. The Petition and Advice went farther still. It revived the kingly office and offered the title to Oliver. After some consideration he declined the title, whilst he accepted the remainder of the Petition and Advice. On June 26 Oliver was installed more solemnly than before as Protector, and the session came to an end.

§ 7. He refuses the title of king.

The resistance of the army and of the old enemies of Charles's kingship had doubtless the very greatest weight in Oliver's determination to refuse the kingly title. But at the bottom there would have been an incongruity in his assumption of the time-honoured name which could not fail to act as a deterrent. A king owed his authority to ancient tradition, handed down from former generations. Oliver owed his authority to his personal qualities, qualities in which his successor would undoubtedly be far behind him. To call him a king was to make him ridiculous by bringing into men's minds a set of ideas quite different from those which would naturally apply to his real position.

§ 8. Wisdom of the refusal.

If this was true of Oliver's kingship, was not it also true of the new Lords? When Parliament met again on January 20, the composition of the House was changed in two ways. Oliver's chief supporters had been removed to the House of Lords, and the excluded members were, by the terms of the constitution, re-admitted. The result was a

A.D. 1658. Jan. 20. § 9. Dissolution of Parliament.

House which called in question all that had been done in the preceding session. Throwing themselves upon their position as elected representatives of the nation, they claimed to speak in its name. They rejected the new House of Lords. If they were left alone it would not be long before they rejected the Protector as well. On February 4, after a speech of mingled sadness and indignation, Oliver dissolved his second Parliament, as he had dissolved his first. 'The Lord,' he said, 'judge between me and you.'

SECTION IV.—*Death of Oliver.*

AS FAR as the present moment was concerned Oliver was doubtless in the right. The pretensions of the Lower House to speak in the name of the English nation were quite as ridiculous as the pretensions of the Upper House to drape itself in the robes of the House of Lords. But in the long run the deficiency in the representative character of all merely Puritan Parliaments would be the ruin of all that either party was striving to establish. On one occasion Oliver had compared himself to a constable set to keep order. Higher than that he could not rise. There is something mournful in his last appeal. 'I can say in the presence of God, in comparison with whom we are but like poor creeping ants upon the earth, I would have been glad to have lived under any woodside, to have kept a flock of sheep, rather than undertaken such a government as this.' Very noble was the ideal which he set before them. To maintain right and justice, to take care that the people of God, as he termed them, were not oppressed, to maintain, with any limitations, religious liberty, was a high work. But the nation, as a nation, wanted other things than these. It wanted, as Oliver would have said, to go back to the fleshpots of Egypt. The

§ 1. Oliver's system doomed.

Puritan rule was too strict, too little regardful of human weaknesses, too firmly persuaded that there was no truth and no godliness outside its own conceptions, to impose itself by force for ever upon a great nation. It is quite true that the highest Puritan minds were not morose, or disregardful of the lighter charms of life. But there was a seriousness in them which deepened in lesser men into congenial sourness. Men missed the cakes and ale, the dance round the maypole, the open theatre, and all the various modes of enjoyment which they had loved well if not always wisely. They turned savagely upon the hypocrisy which waits like a dark shadow upon religious fervour, and upon the frequent use of cant phrases as a substitute for the devotion of the heart. Oliver's Parliaments, Oliver himself, had struck no root into the national mind. His House of Lords, his House of Commons, were but a mockery. If he was himself no mockery it was because his feet were firmly planted elsewhere than on the nation. His strength lay in the army, and the army was a grim reality.

His last days were days of external victory and glory. In 1657 Blake had destroyed the Spanish treasure-fleet at Santa Cruz, himself dying at sea upon his return home. In the same year, 6000 English troops had taken part with France in her war against Spain. In 1658 they had shared in the victory of the Dunes, and had called forth the warmest admiration of the French generals by their discipline and prowess. Dunkirk was captured and surrendered to Oliver as the price of his assistance. But at home the Protector had difficulties enough. There were plots to murder him, plots to bring back the king, plots to establish a commonwealth. Oliver kept them all down with a tight hand. He talked, indeed, of calling another Parliament. Doubtless it would but have ended in the same way as the former ones. No assembly would ever be brought to

§ 2. Progress of the war.

acknowledge that the power of the sword might fairly be thrown into the balance of its deliberations. No circumstances would bring the Protector to acknowledge that an assembly could wisely be entrusted with irresponsible government.

Oliver was spared the years of weariness which seemed to lie before him. His work, full of instruction as it was for the generations to come, had been accomplished as far as that generation was concerned. On August 6 he lost his favourite daughter. Though he was but fifty-nine, his health, worn by long care and anxiety, was beginning to fail. On the 21st a change for the worse took place. There were men in England who knew what his value was. 'Prayers abundantly and incessantly poured forth on his behalf, both publicly and privately, as was observed, in a more than ordinary way.' It was all in vain. For days he lay on his bed of sickness, pouring out his soul to God. There were times when old doubts stole over his mind. 'It is a fearful thing,' he repeated again and again, 'to fall into the hands of the living God.' Then the clouds would pass away in the light of self-forgetfulness. 'All the promises of God are in Him, yea, and in Him, Amen, to the glory of God by us, by us in Jesus Christ.' 'The Lord hath filled me with as much assurance of his pardon and his love as my soul can hold. I think I am the poorest wretch that lives; but I love God; or rather am beloved of God. I am a conqueror, and more than a conqueror, through Christ that strengtheneth me.'

Aug. 6. § 3. Oliver's sickness.

On August 30 a mighty storm swept over England. The devil, said the cavaliers, was fetching home the soul of the tyrant. Oliver little recked of their sayings now. The winds howled around. His voice found utterance in one last prayer of faith: 'Lord,' he cried, 'though I am a miserable and

Sept. 3. § 4. Oliver's death.

wretched creature, I am in covenant with Thee through grace. And I may, I will, come to Thee, for thy people. Thou hast made me, though very unworthy, a mean instrument to do them some good, and Thee service; and many of them have set too high a value upon me, though others wish and would be glad of my death. Lord, however Thou do dispose of me, continue and go on to do good to them. Give them consistency of judgment, one heart, and mutual love; and go on to deliver them, and with the work of reformation; and make the name of Christ glorious in the world. Teach those who look too much on Thy instruments, to depend more upon Thyself. Pardon such as desire to trample upon the dust of a poor worm, for they are Thy people too. And pardon the folly of this short prayer: even for Jesus Christ's sake. And give us a good night, if it be Thy pleasure. Amen.' For three more days Oliver lingered on. September 3 came—the day of Dunbar and Worcester. In the afternoon the brave spirit passed away to the rest which it had never known upon earth.

CHAPTER X.

END OF THE REVOLUTION.

SECTION I.—*Anarchy.*

§ 1. Review of the past.

WITH Oliver's death the Puritan Revolution had fulfilled its appointed destiny. Starting from a double origin—the political desire to make the will of the nation paramount over the will of the Court, and the religious desire to keep Protestantism pure from the Laudian innovations—the Long Parliament had been completely successful in overpowering the king. But

the existence of differences of religious opinion in the ranks of the Long Parliament itself and in its most attached followers gave rise to new difficulties. If things had been left to take their natural course nothing would have been heard of toleration for many a long year. The fact that those who wielded the sword stood in need of toleration compelled the nation to listen to their claims. The permission for the free development of diversity of religious opinion was extorted by force and not conceded to reason. It would be in the highest degree unjust to compare Cromwell with Richelieu. The great Protector never sat down in calm satisfaction that the nation was as clay in the hands of a potter. He yearned for co-operation, for life in all its forms, religious and political. The early history of the English people had not been wasted upon him. He was of the race which had looked up to Simon de Montfort and Edward I., not of the race which had looked up to Charles V. and Lewis XII. For all that he was aiming at the impossible. He had placed his standard too high for those who lived with him to follow. The day would come when the nation would appreciate his greatness. For the time it resolutely refused to be transformed after his ideal.

A.D. 1658. § 2. Richard's Protectorate.

Oliver's Protectorate had been founded on the sympathies of the army, and of the lawyers and statesmen, who saw nothing but tyranny and confusion in the predominance of a single House of Parliament. The lawyers and statesmen gathered round his son Richard, named by Oliver on his deathbed as his successor. On Jan. 27, 1659, a new Parliament met round the new Protector.

Richard, peaceable and sluggish, was the very man to be moulded to the wishes of the lawyers and the statesmen. But the army knew him not. His father had led them in peace and war, had watched with them under

the heights of Dunbar, had triumphed with them within the walls of Worcester. Their dissatisfaction was directed not against the Protectorate system or the Parliamentary system, but against the authority of the civil power. They demanded a control over the appointment of officers, and to choose Fleetwood, Oliver's son-in-law, as their general. Parliament of course upheld the authority of the civil power over the army. On April 22 the soldiers dissolved the Parliament and abolished the Protectorate. Richard Cromwell made no resistance, and his father's whole political system was scattered to the winds.

A.D. 1659. April 22. § 3. Parliament dissolved by the army.

The soldiers did not venture to govern England in their own name. A few of those members of the House of Commons who had sat to the end of the Long Parliament when it was expelled in 1653 were still to be found in London. The poor remains of a once powerful assembly—the Rump, as men called them in derision—took their seats once more under the protection of the army. They were but forty-two in number. Lenthall was replaced in the chair. No legitimist king ever showed himself more tenacious of his rights than they. They took a high tone with the officers, told them 'that the Parliament expected faithfulness and obedience to the Parliament and Commonwealth,' spoke of all acts done under Oliver's orders as legally invalid, and expressed a resolution to hold all persons who had collected taxes for the Protector as responsible for their payment afresh. The officers were naturally indignant. 'I know not,' said Lambert, 'why they should not be at our mercy as well as we at theirs.'

May 7. § 4. The Long Parliament again.

The inevitable conflict was postponed for a time by a Royalist insurrection. The army had not yet lost its vigour. The rebellion was beaten down by Lambert at

Winnington Bridge. The officers came back with high demands, which the Parliament refused to grant. As the members arrived at Westminster, on October 13, they found the approaches guarded by troops, who refused them admission to the House. 'Do you not know me?' said Lenthall. 'If you had been with us at Winnington Bridge,' was the answer, 'we should have known you.'

§ 5. The restored Parliament dispersed.

The rough words painted the situation. It was no longer the army demanding political power because it was wiser and more thoughtful than other classes. It was the contempt of the military element for the civilian. Fortunately for the world no army, however excellently trained and disciplined, can maintain itself at the head of a nation on such terms as these. Armies are composed of men after all, and they will not cling together unless there be some mind to direct them or some common object to pursue. Without Oliver even that army was bound together but by a rope of sand. All that it had to ask was that it should not be subject to any civil authority. Even in its own ranks there were found those who shrunk from defying their countrymen on such ground. The garrison of Portsmouth declared against the officers in London. In London itself the soldiers discovered that they had been less regularly paid since their officers had taken the government into their own hands. On Dec. 24 they once more drew Lenthall from his retirement. On the 26th the Rump was brought back for a second restoration to power, and resumed its sittings at Westminster as if nothing had happened to ruffle its serenity.

§ 6. Military insolence.

SECTION II.—*The Restoration.*

MEN who had hitherto shown little inclination to favour the Royal cause were growing sick of being subject to the caprices of a domineering soldiery. Nor was this feeling unknown in the ranks of the army itself. George Monk, who commanded the English forces in Scotland, was a cool, taciturn man without passion or enthusiasm. He had served the king in the war against the Irish rebels, and had then passed over to the side of the Parliament. Blind to the higher side of Oliver's nature, he had served him faithfully in his effort to maintain order, and he knew, as neither Lambert nor Fleetwood seemed to know, that the government of a great kingdom cannot be carried on as a mere appendage to the military duties of a commander-in-chief. As long as Richard Cromwell retained his authority, Monk seconded him loyally. 'Richard Cromwell,' he afterwards said, 'forsook himself, else had I never failed my promise to his father or regard to his memory.'

§ 1. Monk in Scotland.

As soon as Monk heard that the officers had dissolved Richard's government he prepared for action. Gathering a Convention of the Scottish Estates, he obtained from them a vote of money. On New Year's Day, 1660, he crossed the Border. On Jan. 11 he was met by Fairfax at York, who brought with him all the weight of his unstained name and his high military reputation. In the negotiations which followed Monk showed a great dislike of any change which would threaten the material and spiritual interests which had grown up since the beginning of the civil war. He objected to the return to Parliament of the Presbyterian members excluded by Pride's Purge, and to the return of the king,

A.D. 1660. § 2. His march into England.

as both would be animated by hostility to those who had risen under the existing order of things.

§ 3. Monk in London.

On Feb. 3 Monk entered London. Whatever he might think about the king's return, he had no enthusiasm in his composition. He was not the man to take an active part against a possible government, and he refused to take an oath of abjuration of the House of Stuart. He wished first, he said, to know the grounds on which it was tendered to him. Matters were soon brought to a crisis by a resolution taken on Feb. 8 by the City of London. They declared that, as no members for the City were amongst the forty-two who were governing England by so strange a title, they would pay no taxes. Taxation must follow representation. Monk was ordered to suppress the resistance. Marching into the City, he enforced his will for a moment upon the citizens. But the sight of London spurning the yoke of the Rump convinced him, if he was not convinced before, that, whatever else happened, the Rump could not continue to give laws to England.

§ 4. Declares for a free Parliament.

Monk had entered the City on the 10th. In the evening he called a council of his officers, and obtained their approbation to a letter which he had written to the House, in which he demanded the issue of writs to fill up the vacant seats within eight days, and a dissolution by May 6. Next morning the news was received with enthusiasm in the City. That night every street was ablaze with bonfires. That there might be no mistake about the meaning of the display, rumps were roasted over the fires and carried about the streets in derision.

March 16. § 5. End of the Long Parliament.

The writs for fresh elections were not issued. Another way of coercing the Rump was found. On February 26 the excluded Presbyterian members took their seats. The majority passed at once to their side. A dissolution, to be fol-

lowed by new elections, was voted without further difficulty. On March 16 the Long Parliament came by its own act to its unhonoured end.

§ 6. The Restoration necessary.

The Restoration was now a foregone conclusion. The one predominant feeling of Englishmen was to escape from the rule of the soldiers; and every recently-introduced form of civil government having been alike discredited, it was natural to turn back to that form under which the nation had flourished for centuries, and which had fallen rather from the personal faults of the last king than from the inherent vices of the system.

April 14. § 7. The Declaration of Breda.

The Declaration of Breda converted the chances of the Restoration into a certainty. In this celebrated address Charles offered a general pardon to all who were not specially excepted by Parliament. The material interests which had grown up during the Revolution were placed in safety by a clause assuring the retention of confiscated estates by their actual holders. Spiritual interests were not forgotten. The Cromwellian doctrine that no man should be called in question for differences of opinion so long as he did not disturb the peace of the kingdom was embodied in the manifesto of the Restoration.

§ 8. The Restoration.

On April 14 the new Parliament met. It had been freely chosen without regard for the old Royalist disqualifications, which the Rump, by its last act, had attempted to maintain. The king was at once recalled. On May 25 Charles landed at Dover, amidst applauding crowds. On the 29th, the day of his birth, he entered London. The soldiers of the Parliamentary army were drawn up on Blackheath to receive him. With their leaders divided their power was gone, and they submitted to be disbanded and to leave the care of the commonwealth to others.

SECTION III.—*The Ecclesiastical Settlement of the Restoration.*

THE Government, as established by the Restoration, attempted to give effect to the political principles adopted in 1641. In recalling Charles Parliament had resolved that the government of England consisted of King, Lords, and Commons. Not one of these constituent parts was to act in total independence of the other. The objections raised by Oliver against an irresponsible House of Commons were admitted as valid by the statesmen of the Restoration.

§ 1. King and Parliament.

Oliver's principle of religious toleration fared worse. Enshrined in the Declaration of Breda, it had no place as yet in the hearts of the English people. In their minds it was connected with the domination of the army and with the rude harangues of uneducated and fanatical preachers. The Bishops were re-established, and the Common Prayer-book was brought back with general satisfaction. Penalties the most severe were placed upon those who ventured to use any other form of worship. If the king did not throw himself heart and soul into the repression as his father had done, he offered no resistance. Never had the cause of religious liberty seemed more hopeless. Laud and Charles I. might be resisted. But who should resist a persecuting nation?

§ 2. No religious toleration.

In this apparent hopelessness lay the brightest hopes for the future. The Laudian system had been maintained by the authority of the few over the many. The Puritan system had been maintained by the armed strength of the few over the many. The rule of a minority must ever be watchful,

§ 3. Hopes for the future.

ever on its guard against hidden dangers, ever keeping the hand upon the bridle. The rule of the many brings with it a feeling of security.

For a few years after the Restoration the dread of a possible rising of Oliver's old soldiers was too keen to make it likely that the reins would soon be loosely held. The Cavalier Parliament—the Long Parliament of the Restoration, as it is sometimes called — passed act after act against those Puritans who refused to conform to the Established Church. On August 24, 1662, the Nonconformist clergy were expelled from their livings. In 1664 the Conventicle Act visited with fine, imprisonment, or transportation, all persons meeting together for religious purposes without public authority. In 1665 the Five Mile Act forbade the ejected ministers to live within five miles of any corporate town, or to keep schools where the young might be bred up in their principles.

1660–5. § 4. Acts against the Nonconformists.

One notable change in language testifies to the feeling raised by the irresistible power of a Parliamentary persecution. The names of Puritan and Nonconformist begin to drop out of sight. The name of Dissenter begins to be heard. The Nonconformist in the reign of Charles I. claimed to take his place within the Church system, and to modify it as far as he was able. The Dissenter of the reign of Charles II. was contented to stand outside it, to leave the Church of the nation to go on its own way, whilst pleading for toleration for the minority which differed from the dominant religion. No doubt some time would elapse before this change of position was generally understood; but there could be little doubt that, when once it was understood, the way to toleration would become comparatively smooth. Men who would hesitate to yield to their opponents a vantage ground from which to work

§ 5. Nonconformists and Dissenters.

a change in the religion of the country, would not be likely to be very stubborn in refusing to the Dissenters rights which would not in any way affect their own Church.

Many years, however, must elapse before the change in the ecclesiastical position of the Dissenters could be felt or understood. For the moment the estrangement caused by the memory of the wrongs done and suffered in the religious quarrel was embittered by a political difference. The governing classes of the nation had rallied to the doctrine of non-resistance; that is to say, to the doctrine that under no conceivable circumstances was forcible resistance to the king permissible. The resolution of Parliament to maintain this doctrine had found expression in the Corporation Act, passed in 1661, before the ecclesiastical measures of repression had come into existence. By that Act, all bearers of office in corporate towns were compelled to take 'the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the rites of the Church of England,' to renounce the Covenant, and that 'traitorous position of the legality of taking arms by the king's authority against himself or his officers.'

A.D. 1661. § 6. The Corporation Act.

If Parliament had been content to ask the Dissenters to promise to abstain from taking arms against the Crown, it is probable that few would have refused compliance. It would have seemed hardly worth while to forsake the position of loyal subjects, when the chances of successful resistance had become so extremely slight, and when past resistance had led to consequences so distasteful to most of those from whom it had proceeded. But those who still cherished the memories of Marston Moor and Naseby could but, as honest men, give an unqualified contradiction to the doctrine that any human person was placed

§ 7. The doctrine of non-resistance.

entirely above the control of his fellow-men. Those who refused to make the required declaration handed down to following generations the great principle that no position is so exalted as to render him who occupies it entirely irresponsible. But in the midst of the exuberant loyalty around them they became for the time outcasts from the common life of the nation.

A.D. 1667. § 8. 'Paradise Lost.'

The reaction against Puritanism showed itself in other ways than in the invention of new political and ecclesiastical watchwords. Licentiousness came into fashion. In Charles II. Comus seemed to have seated himself upon the throne of England. The poet of Comus, old and blind, poured forth the great epic of Puritanism, 'Paradise Lost,' in which the interest is concentrated not, as in the Iliad, upon warring armies; or, as in the Odyssey, upon the fortunes and achievements of a hero; or, as in the Æneid, on the foundation of an empire; but on the war waged by heavenly and infernal powers for the maintenance or destruction of the purity of a single human soul. Once more he, who in his youth had declared that outward beauty was but the expression of internal purity, stepped forward to develope at yet greater length his high theme, and to adjure men by the example of their first ancestor to guard the fortress of their purity against the assaults of temptation.

A.D. 1671. § 9. 'Paradise Regained.'

Equally distinctive with the Puritanism of 'Paradise Lost' is the Puritanism of 'Paradise Regained.' The instinct of Christendom has fixed upon the Saviour's death upon the cross as the central point of the work of redemption. There have been those who have dwelt upon the physical suffering, upon the crown of thorns, the lacerated body. There have been those who have dwelt upon the sacrifice of the will and heart which lay beneath the sacrifice of the body Milton turns aside from the cross to tell of the resistance

to temptation in the wilderness, to the original defiance to the seductive allurements of evil which found its weak and imperfect copy in that moment of conversion which was the corner-stone of the Puritan framework of Christian life for erring, fallible men. In 'Paradise Lost,' when Michael prepares to conduct Adam away from the Eden he has forfeited, he tells him that the true Paradise lies within. 'Only add,' he says—

> 'Deeds to thy knowledge answerable; add faith;
> Add virtue, patience, temperance; add love,
> By name to come called charity, the soul
> Of all the rest: then wilt thou not be loth
> To leave this Paradise, but shalt possess
> A Paradise within thee, happier far.'

The same thought appears at the close of 'Paradise Regained.' 'Now,' sing the angels over Him who had been victor over temptation—

> 'Now, thou hast avenged
> Supplanted Adam, and by vanquishing
> Temptation hast regained lost Paradise.'

Here too victory over sin is but the beginning of active work. To the true Puritan, conversion was the gate through which the Christian life was entered. The song of the angels in 'Paradise Regained' is true to this part of the Puritan ideal in its closing strains:—

> 'Hail, Son of the Most High, Heir of both Worlds,
> Queller of Satan! On Thy glorious work
> Now enter, and begin to save Mankind.'

How far away is all this from the ideal of the other great Christian poet, the interpreter of the thought and aspirations of the Middle Ages. To Dante, weary through the weakness of the flesh in the contemplation of the justice of God, the complete submission of the will and heart seems to be the final close of a life of bitter experience and imperfect striving after good. Admitted in the end to look upon the mysteries of the Godhead, his vision fails and his tongue falters, till, as he tells us, 'the Love

which moves the sun and the stars turned my desire and my will as a wheel which moves concordantly' with that of the Divine Sustainer of the world. So ends the great mediæval poem. To the Catholic Dante the complete submission of the individual human will to the Divine will is the final end and complete consummation of the Christian life, beyond which no work is conceivable as proceeding from the individual man. To the Puritan Milton the submission of the individual human will to the Divine will was the beginning of the work.

§ 10. The future of Puritanism

The special opinions of the Puritans and the special ecclesiastical forms in which those opinions found expression might sink out of sight, or might become the cherished treasures of a faithful few. But the spirit of Puritanism would not die. The seriousness of mind which draws its motive of action from its own high conception of duty, and which issues in untiring activity for the public good, has never ceased to be an element of the national character, alongside with the love of routine and of the formal observances of life, the respect for law and precedent in Church and State, and the submission of personal and party aims to the expressed will of the community.

A.D. 1671. § 11. 'Samson Agonistes.'

Milton died in confidence that the future would do him justice. In 'Samson Agonistes' he flung his defiance in the face of the triumphant powers of evil. For himself there was no more hope. Formality in the Church, riot in the Court, left no room for him. In the blind captive Samson he saw his own lot embodied. He was certainly thinking of himself when he penned such lines as these :—

> 'This day a solemn feast the people hold
> To Dagon, their sea-idol, and forbid
> Laborious works. Unwillingly this rest
> Their superstition leaves me ; hence, with leave,
> Retiring from the popular noise, I seek

This unfrequented place to find some ease—
Ease to the body some, none to the mind
From restless thoughts, that, like a deadly swarm
Of hornets armed, no sooner found alone
But rush upon me thronging, and present
Times past, what once I was, and what am now.'

If he was despondent about himself, for England he did not 'bate a jot of heart or hope.' 'All,' sings the final chorus of the 'Samson Agonistes'—

'All is best, though we oft doubt
What the unsearchable dispose
Of Highest Wisdom brings about
And ever best found in the close.
* * * *
'His servants He, with new acquist
Of true experience from this great event,
With peace and consolation hath dismissed,
And calm of mind, all passion spent.'

It is written of Samson that those 'which he slew in his death were more than they which he slew in his life.' Puritanism, with 'all passion spent,' would wage a warfare with evil more effectual than when it appeared clothed in the habiliments of war at Naseby.

SECTION IV.—*The Revival of Parliamentary Opposition.*

EVEN the Cavalier Parliament did not stand on the ground which had been occupied by Charles I. before the meeting of the Long Parliament. Its members held that the wearer of the crown was inviolable. No man, no body of men in the realm, had the right to call him to account. But then his ministers were to be responsible, and in this way the action of the Government might be kept in accordance with the wishes of Parliament.

A.D. 1661. § 1. The Parliamentary view of the Constitution.

So far, it was not unlikely that Charles II. would ac-

cept with more or less reluctance the bonds against which his father had struggled in vain. His intellect was cast in a less narrow mould than that of Charles I. He could understand the necessity of taking into account the opinions and prejudices of others, and of adapting his conduct to the varying requirements of the time. He cared enough about politics to take a personal interest in them, and to do his best to influence those who were themselves influential. He was easy-going and voluptuous, fond of merriment and dissipation, unwilling to make sacrifices of any kind. Above all, he had learned by experience what the life of an exiled prince was like, and he had no desire to repeat the experiment. 'Whatever else may happen,' he was wont to say, 'I have no wish to go again upon my travels.'

§ 2. Character of Charles II.

Such a king seemed marked out by nature to replace the authority of command by the authority of influence. But there was at least one quarter in which difficulties might be expected to arise. The House of Commons in the height of its loyalty had not forgotten to keep a tight grip upon the national purse-strings. It was to wound Charles in his tenderest point. Lavish and profuse himself, he gathered round him those who were more lavish and profuse still. Greedy courtiers, and still more greedy mistresses, cried out for money with the persistency of the horse-leech. Men who had fought and bled for Charles I. began to look with suspicion upon the Court and Government of Charles II.

§ 3. His financial difficulties.

A war with the Dutch, lasting from 1664 to 1667, brought matters to a crisis. The supporters of the Restoration split into the Court party and the Country party. In the days of Charles I. the Commons had often refused to vote money till their grievances had been redressed; but when once

A.D. 1664. § 4. War with the Dutch.

the money was voted, they had no further control over it. The Country party now began to ask how the money which they had voted for the war was spent. Had it gone to pay soldiers and sailors, or had it served but to swell the tide of revelry at Whitehall?

§ 5. The Commons and the expenditure.

It was a very natural question. Yet it was one which cut very deeply into the Restoration settlement. The strength which the Commons acquired by the power of refusing taxation would be doubled if they could also acquire the power of examining into payments, and of controlling the expenditure.

§ 6. Clarendon's Constitutional opinions.

The chief opponent of this demand was Charles's leading minister, Lord Chancellor Clarendon, who, as Sir Edward Hyde, had taken part in the council of Charles I. after the presentation of the Remonstrance. In both reigns he had been the main supporter of the doctrine that Government ought to be based upon the co-operation of the Crown and the Parliament. He did not wish to see Parliament trodden under foot by the King. He did not wish to see the King trodden under foot by Parliament. But he forgot that the common saying that 'if two men ride on horseback, one must ride in front,' applies to politics as well as to ordinary life. The moment any real cause of dissension arose, the Crown and Parliament would agree only in expecting that the other should give way.

A.D. 1667. § 7. Clarendon's disgrace.

Clarendon was driven into disgrace and exile. Charles was not likely to struggle to retain him in office, as his father had struggled to retain Buckingham. He had ceased to care for him personally. Clarendon was an austere moralist, and looked askance at the private life of his master.

The position taken by the Country party was very far from being the same as that taken by the Dissenters, who

refused to acknowledge the doctrine of non-resistance. But those who advocated it were moving in the same direction. They did not hold that it was right to resist the Crown by force of arms; but they held that it was right to limit its powers, to check its extravagances, and to control its expenditure.

§ 8. Position of the Country party.

SECTION V.—*Revival of the Idea of Toleration.*

IT was in vain that the Cavalier Parliament had done its best to bury out of sight the question of toleration. Such a question could not be buried out of sight. Too many persons were interested in it. Too many evils afflicted society, which could not be removed till the proper solution had been discovered. The solution attempted by Cromwell had been in itself imperfect, and had been discredited on account of its imposition by armed force. But the idea had been laid before the world, and it would not always be neglected.

§ 1. The idea of toleration.

During the first year of his reign Charles II. seemed as if he wished to take up a position even more widely tolerant than Cromwell's had been. It seemed, too, as if his efforts were more likely to be crowned with success in the end, because he was not sufficiently earnest about the matter to attempt to thrust his ideas at once down the throat of an unwilling nation. Indulgence to the Dissenters was to him simply a measure of practical policy, which would remove difficulties from his path and convert dangerous opponents into useful friends. It must have appeared probable to him that by watching his opportunity he would find a time when asperities had been sufficiently toned down to enable him to carry out his ideas into practice.

§ 2. Its adoption by the King.

But for one circumstance it is not improbable that

some such opportunity would have occurred, and that the later Stuarts would have reaped the glory of being known as the founders of toleration in England. One great obstacle stood in their way. One after another, the children of Charles I. and of Henrietta Maria adopted their mother's creed. The religious opinions of Charles II., whatever they were, were certain to hang upon him loosely; but his tendencies were all towards the Roman Catholic Church, and whilst he was yet in exile, he had on more than one occasion offered to acknowledge its authority, if he suffered no inconvenience by so doing. James's character was less vacillating than that of his brother, and for some years after the Restoration he lived as a member of the English Church. In 1672, however, he was received into the Roman Catholic Communion.

§ 3. He wishes to include the Roman Catholics.

Nothing could be more likely to make the idea of toleration distasteful to the nation than the suspicion that the Roman Catholics would in any way be benefited by it. The memory of the Reformation struggle was still fresh. Gunpowder Plot was not forgotten. Once more, too, there had arisen upon the Continent an aggressive Roman Catholic power. France in the days of Charles II. was still stronger than Spain had been in the days of Elizabeth. Lewis XIV. was the master of an apparently irresistible army. Everywhere his Court was looked up to as the very focus of civilisation, the centre of art and literature and science. Charles II. was his first cousin, and he acknowledged his kinsman's spell. French habits and manners, French vices as well, became the fashion at Whitehall. From time to time Charles was sorely tempted to look for aid to the great monarch who had no Parliamentary Opposition to contend with, and who would perhaps take pity upon a brother king in difficulties.

§ 4. Influence of Lewis XIV.

The Dutch Republic had placed itself in the forefront of the resistance to France, as it had placed itself in the forefront of the resistance to Spain. For a moment England, under the influence of the men who had risen to power after Clarendon's fall, joined in setting bounds to the conquests of Lewis. In 1668 the Triple Alliance between England, Sweden, and the Dutch Netherlands compelled France to sign peace at Aix-la-Chapelle.

A.D. 1668. § 5. The Triple Alliance.

The opposition to France was not of long duration. In the following year Charles made overtures to Lewis which ripened into the secret treaty of Dover in 1670. By that treaty Charles agreed to support Lewis in his war against Holland, whilst Lewis agreed to supply Charles with money. Charles was further to declare himself a convert to the Roman Catholic Church.

A.D. 1670. § 6. The treaty of Dover.

From the last step Charles shrank. It would have been too dangerous, and he did not like to incur danger. On March 18, 1672, however, he fulfilled his other promise by declaring war with the Dutch. Three days before he had issued his Declaration of Indulgence. Protestant Dissenters were to be allowed to worship freely in places appointed to them for the purpose; Roman Catholics were to be freed from the penalties of the law so long as they contented themselves with worshipping in private houses.

A.D. 1672. § 7. The Declaration of Indulgence.

In itself the idea of toleration was still unpopular. Toleration for Roman Catholics was generally regarded with detestation. When the session opened in 1673 Parliament loudly denounced the illegality of a measure by which the law was set aside in so sweeping a way. No doubt the extent of the prerogative of the Crown was still undefined in many directions, and the royal supremacy

A.D. 1673. § 8. Withdrawal of the declaration.

over the Church which had been handed down from the Tudor sovereigns was less limited by custom than the royal supremacy over the State. But the Declaration of Indulgence was so unpopular that those who attempted to defend it had an uphill task before them. Even Dissenters had refused to avail themselves of it, partly on the ground of its illegality, partly because they refused to accept a benefit which must be shared by the Roman Catholics. Before the determined opposition of Parliament Charles gave way, and the Declaration of Indulgence was withdrawn.

§ 9. The Test Act.

Parliament was not content with its victory. It passed the Test Act, which excluded from office all who refused to abjure the doctrine of transubstantiation. The King's brother, the Duke of York, was the first to suffer. He ceased to be Lord High Admiral of England.

§ 10. Bill for the relief of Dissenters.

At the same time a Bill passed the House of Commons to give relief to the Protestant Dissenters. It met with opposition in the House of Lords, and it never became law.

§ 11. Prospect of toleration.

Fifteen years were yet to pass before the throne of the Stuarts was overturned. The story of those years, full of events and vicissitudes, is the task of another pen. It is enough to say that England was already on the track which led eventually to the Revolution settlement of 1688. Cromwell's toleration for Puritans alone had been framed on too narrow a basis. The apprehension of danger from the Roman Catholics, which culminated when a bigoted Roman Catholic king ascended the throne, was already leading enlightened Churchmen to think of the points which they had in common with the Dissenters rather than upon the points which separated them.

Section VI.—*The Revolution of* 1688.

In the Revolution which placed William and Mary upon the throne, satisfaction was given to the two leading demands of the troubled period by which it had been preceded. On the one hand, Parliament was practically acknowledged as the most important factor in the Constitution, and the whole action of the ministers of the Crown was drawn within the sphere of its controlling power. On the other hand, except so far as the Roman Catholics were concerned, the Toleration Act and the establishment of the liberty of the press restricted the action of political bodies within comparatively narrow limits. It relieved them from the supposed duty of forcible interference with the world of religion and with the world of thought. From thenceforward the struggle for political power was merely a struggle for this or that object to be obtained in the immediate present. The shaping of the coming generation was left to the free press and the free pulpit, which were uninfluenced by the result of Parliamentary struggles. A large portion of the reasons which led thoughtful men to oppose the supremacy of Parliaments fell to the ground. The beaten statesman had a vantage-ground from which to move the world and to gain converts to his ideas. He need not cling unduly to power, out of fear lest in leaving it he would re-enter into insignificance.

A.D. 1688. § 1. The Revolution.

The political revolution of 1688, indeed, appears at first sight to have carried out the views of Cromwell's opponents rather than those of Cromwell. The casting vote in all political difficulties lies with the nation as represented in Parliament, and more especially in the House of Commons, and not with the Executive Government. No king and

§ 2. Its political result.

no prime minister ever contemplates in these days the possibility of marching a regiment of soldiers down to Houses of Parliament, in order to distinguish by that rude instrument those who are fit to sit in it, from those who are not. No king and no prime minister ever thinks of governing in a spirit directly opposed to that of which the nation deliberately approves. But, on the other hand, this has become possible because all the reasonable objections of Cromwell and of Strafford before him have been satisfactorily met. The House of Commons leaves judicial sentences to the Judges. The House of Commons does not now attempt to govern directly, but to control those who govern; whilst it is itself liable to be compelled by a dissolution to render an account of its actions to the constituencies from which it has emanated. Morever, the existence of the House of Lords compels it to frame its legislation under a sense of responsibility, and the good sense of the House of Lords has hitherto prevented a useful check from producing that deadlock in affairs which would happen if two bodies theoretically equal were to imagine themselves practically equal. In a political constitution it is desirable that some one body should be supreme in all important matters, whilst it is equally desirable that it should not be so easily supreme as to be dispensed from the necessity of rendering a reason for its actions, or to be freed from the obligation of doing its best to conciliate those who are opposed to it. These conditions were fulfilled by the Crown in the sixteenth century, and were fulfilled by the House of Commons in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

§ 3. Spirit of the English people.

It is to no mere alteration of political mechanism that this happy result is due. The moderation of thought, the spirit of compromise, the readiness to give a hearing to anyone who seems to have any valuable advice to offer, these form the

soil out of which our English constitution has grown, and in which alone, whatever modifications it may hereafter need, it will in future continue to flourish. Not on one side alone of the great civil strife of the seventeenth century are our moral and intellectual ancestors. The high energy of a statesmanship founded upon a national resolve may brace itself to noble deeds by the example of Eliot, whilst Strafford's warnings may serve to remind us of the necessity of giving due weight to intelligence in the conduct of the State. He who thinks of moderation, of wise dislike of the application of force to solve religious and political difficulties may think of Falkland, whilst the high ideal of life, without which all work degenerates into self-seeking, is inseparably connected with the name of Milton. The thoughts which these men and others like them made their own did not perish with their failure to achieve political success. The religion of Herbert and of Laud reappeared modified but not suppressed after the Long Parliament and Cromwell had done their uttermost. The religion of Sibbes and Milton reappeared after the Restoration in the 'Paradise Lost' and in the 'Pilgrim's Progress.' The serious intelligence of the Puritan, the breadth of view and the artistic perception of the Churchman, became elements of the national life all the more fruitful of good when they ceased to come into violent collision with one another.

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